

AFTER THE BATTLE

Carl Hans Lody

Geb 20·1·1877

Gest 6·11·1914

**Number 11
GERMAN SPIES
IN BRITAIN**

In Love
OUR
JOHN
DIED
AGE
FOREVER

NUMBER 11

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Front Cover: The grave of Karl Lody, shot at the Tower of London on November 6, 1914, at the East London Cemetery at Plaistow; the only grave that can be seen today from all Germany's spies executed in two World Wars.

Centre Pages: Volkswagen Kubelwagen, 1943 vintage owned by Nick Double, London, complete with original ammunition trailer restored as a vehicle of the 1. Infanteriekompanie, bewaffnetes Aufklärungsbattalion, 15. Panzerdivision.

Back Cover: Part of the impressive collection of WWII vehicles and guns in the Historic Military Vehicle Museum owned by John Bellfield of Melbourne, Victoria. All the guns have been deactivated to conform with Australian laws.

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GERMAN SPIES IN BRITAIN

This story — German spies in Britain during WWII — was originally announced in the first edition of *After the Battle*. However, many months of travel, research, interviews and correspondence have been necessary to bring the story to its present stage. One cannot claim this is the whole story — the files of MI5, our Counter Intelligence organisation known officially as the Security Service, are naturally closed to examination. Home Office files on the spies that were caught and executed are closed for 100 years — the editor was told in one official letter quite simply that he could look at them in 2042!

Every book and account written on German spy activity prior to 1972 gave only half the story — the German side. Such books as 'They Spied on England', published in 1958, based on the war diaries of German Abwehr chief Generaleutnant Erwin Lahousen, in which the General makes claims as to the effective spy network they operated. Claims for the work of their master spy, Welshman Arthur Owens, and Hans Schmidt and Jack Berg, all of whom did great service to the German espionage network. 'The Eddie Chapman Story', published in 1953, included a postscript that this was only half the story. Eddie Chapman had attempted to publish his full account in France in 1946, and for doing so was convicted under the Official Secrets Act on March 29, 1946 at Bow Street court.

Every book, that is, until the publication in America in 1972 of a book by Sir John C. Masterman. Sir John had been trying to have published a report, which he had written at the end of the war describing the wartime work of MI5, ever since the early 50's. Right through the years of Burgess and Maclean,

Philby and George Blake, in which the image of the British Security Service sank to a low level he argued the case for publication. Failure in espionage makes the headlines — success can never be reported.

Sir John's final attempt was made in 1967 and lasted four years. After final refusal by Whitehall, he decided to 'publish and be damned' in America. When the British authorities learnt what he was proposing to do, a meeting was called with the then Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling and Sir Alec Douglas Home, the Foreign Secretary. Both were personally in favour of publication and Sir John was told that if he would accept certain changes, one being that persons should not be identified, approval would be given. Printed under Crown Licence the book entitled 'The Double Cross System' blew the lid off every preceding published account.

It revealed that MI5 had penetrated the German espionage system *before* the start of World War II and that MI5's master double-agent was none other than the German master spy Arthur Owens. It revealed that *every* agent landing by parachute, submarine or other methods was expected because of the Germans advising Owens of their arrival (except one described later), and that, when caught, most were turned into double agents. All the claims of Generaleutnant Lahousen only went to show how far and how effectively the Germans had been duped.

The British Security Service was so successful in turning agents that Sir John Masterman could claim, when he prepared his 1945 report, that '*by means of the double agent system we actively ran and controlled the German espionage system in this country*'.



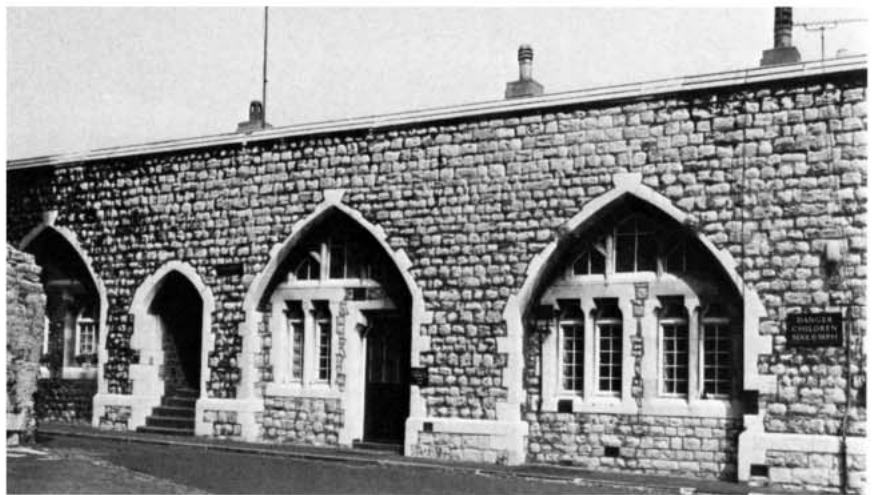


First World War

No story concerning German spy activity in the United Kingdom during WWII should begin without giving a little background to the German activities in this field in WWI.

In 1911, during a German state visit to London, a senior Prussian officer made a habit of visiting a barber's shop in the Caledonian Road. As this was not the kind of establishment which would normally be used by a high ranking attache, it aroused the suspicions of the British Counter-Intelligence Service. A watch was kept on the shop and all letters intercepted. It was soon realised that the shop was a front for the German espionage system in England. At that stage no further moves were made but as soon as war was declared in 1914, action was taken and in one blow twenty-two professional spies and scores of their accomplices were arrested, destroying the whole German espionage system carefully

Below: A rare photograph taken in a British court. Karl Lody in the dock of No. 1 court at his Courts-Martial held in the Middlesex Guildhall.
Opposite: Our 1976 reconstruction.



Top: The night before they were executed, the First World War German spies were brought to spend their last night in the Tower of London. The cell they occupied is to the right of the guardsmen. Picture taken shortly after WWI (IWM). Above: The cell today is No. 29 The Casemates—a Yeoman Warder's quarters.

built up over the preceding years. Although further spies were sent during the war the German espionage system never recovered.

Karl Lody was the first German to arrive after hostilities began, and, was soon arrested in Killarney, Eire. He will go down in history

as the first man to be executed within the Tower of London for a hundred and fifty years. The spies arrested on the outbreak of war had been interned but those arriving during the war were executed. This is the complete list:—

	<i>Trial</i>	<i>Executed</i>
KARL LODY	Courts-Martial	November 6, 1914
G. T. BREECKOW	Old Bailey	June 4, 1915
K. T. MULLER	Old Bailey	June 23, 1915
W. J. ROOS	Courts-Martial	July 30, 1915
H. P. M. JANSSEN	Courts-Martial	July 30, 1915
A. A. ROGGIN	Courts-Martial	September 17, 1915
E. W. MELIN	Courts-Martial	September 18, 1915
F. BUSCHMANN	Courts-Martial	October 19, 1915
I. G. RIES	Courts-Martial	October 27, 1915
A. MEYER	Courts-Martial	December 2, 1915
Y. L. Z. HURWITZ	Courts-Martial	April 11, 1916



Above: The miniature rifle range at the Tower of London, situated on the east side of the inner wall between the Constable and Martin Towers — place of execution for eleven WWI spies and

one German in WWII (Crown copyright). Below: A prefabricated office building now stands on the site of the range which was demolished in May 1969.





Execution was by firing squad in the old miniature rifle range at the Tower of London. Although the history of the Tower of London states that they were buried at Brixton Prison this is not correct—they were buried in the East London Cemetery at Plaistow. (This fact took several months to establish, our readers can imagine the editor's surprise and excitement to find, after fruitless searching, that the Germans had been buried not half a mile away from his office!) Only the grave of Karl Lody can be seen today—the other bodies, buried by the State in common graves, have since had other remains buried above them, the ground having been used several times.

We then discovered that in 1937 the Nazi government had asked the British authorities for the return of the bodies. It was intimated in the reply that the burials had been in quicklime.

When the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, the German War Graves Commission, were planning their cemetery at Cannock Chase (opened in 1967), they asked if it would be possible to disinter the bodies. Authorities at the cemetery pointed out that under British Law permission would have to be obtained from relatives of those buried above, before the graves could be opened—an almost impossible task where common burials are concerned. It seems the German authorities were satisfied with these arguments and the bodies remain interred at Plaistow.

The editor first visited Karl Lody's grave at Plaistow in February 1974. He was told at the cemetery office he was the only person they could remember who had asked about the grave other than an unknown German who arrived by car some years previously. Photographs were taken and held for use in our spy story.

In November, 1974, we still had not completed our research and we were telephoned by the cemetery office to tell us that two old ladies had recently visited the grave (one of whose father had been a friend of Lody), and that an order had been placed for a headstone to be erected on the unmarked grave. This was done on Wednesday, November 26, and is shown in



Top: The interior of the range as it was during the First World War (IWM). Above: Its use as a rifle range ceased in the 1960s when the Territorial Army unit at the Tower was disbanded. This is how it looked on May 19, 1969 (Crown Copyright).

our second photograph which was taken on July 12, 1975.

Near Karl Lody's grave is a memorial stone to the other ten Germans executed in the Tower. The stone also records the names of seven other Germans who died in British prisons during 1915/16.

Way back in 1962 the editor obtained special permission to visit the old miniature rifle range at the Tower of London which was then still in use by the Territorial Army as a .22 range. The range was on the east side of the Tower and not open to the public. When we visited the Tower in 1975 to take

photographs for this story, to our dismay we found the range had been demolished, beginning on May 27, 1969. The site is now occupied by a prefabricated office. The old WWI condemned cell is now No. 29 the Casements—a Yeoman Warder's quarters.

In September 1975, an interesting advertisement appeared in the Exchange and Mart. A Mr. Percival was offering for sale a fired cartridge case he had found on the Thames foreshore below the Tower promenade. Although damaged it was engraved 'H. Zender, The Tower of London, 22nd January 1916'. In a letter to the editor,



Above: The grave of Karl Lody, No. 257, as it was when we discovered it at the East London Cemetery and, below, showing the striking black marble headstone erected on November 26, 1974.



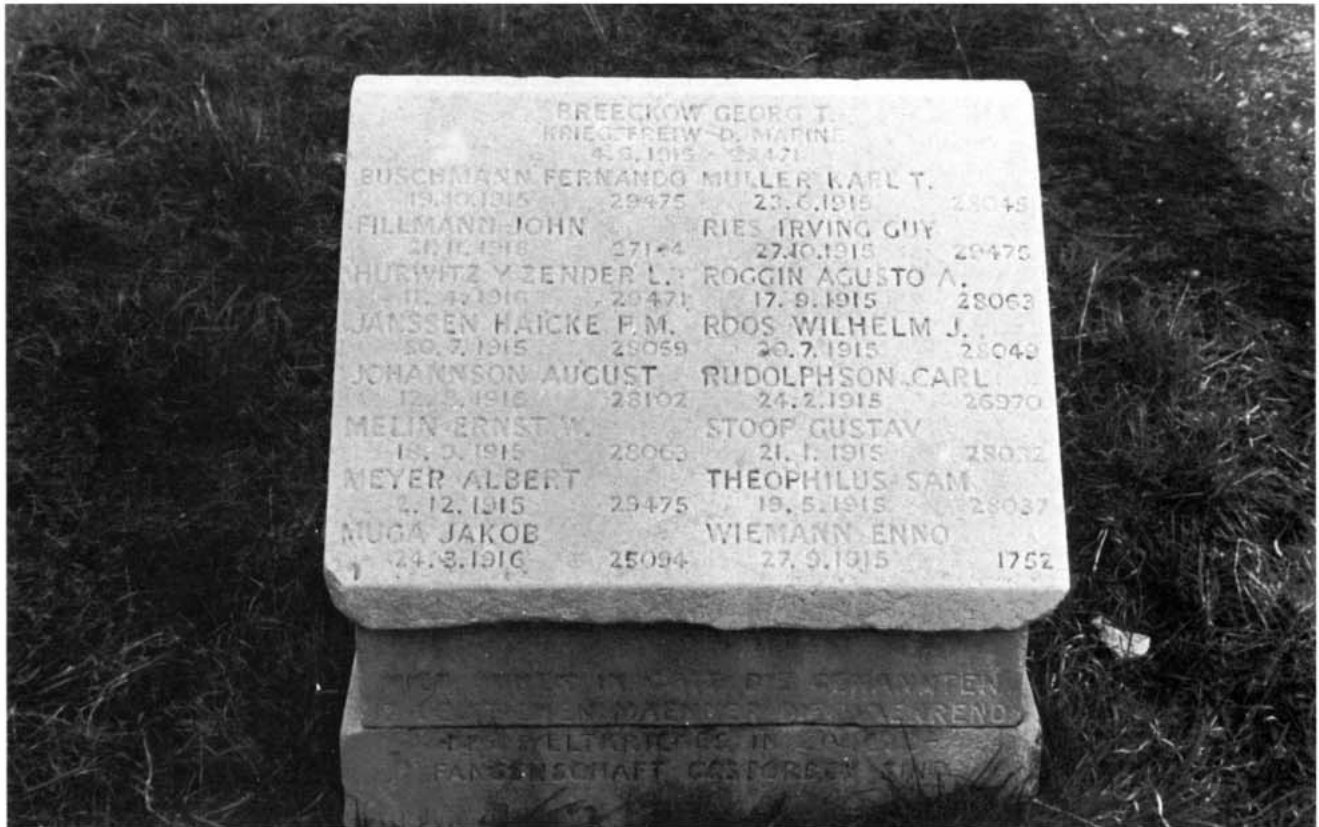
Above: By 1934, this memorial had been erected to Karl Lody in the German town of Lubeck (Keystone).

Mr. Percival stated that he believed it was genuine and one of the eight issued and used at Zender's execution. He said that Zender received a stay of execution and did not finally face the firing squad until April 10, 1916. He also said he was buried at Brixton Jail. Although no price was mentioned for the case, a suitable offer was made and accepted.

As has been stated above, the official history of the Tower is incorrect in the burial place of the executed spies. Also his full name was Zender Hurwitz—all Peruvian names are double-barrelled with the father's name first then the mother's. This is substantiated by the engraving on the East London Cemetery Memorial.



Above: One of the cartridge cases used to execute Y. L. Zender Hurwitz in the range at the Tower of London on April 11, 1916.



Above: The memorial stone in the East London Cemetery at Plaistow to the German spies executed in WWI. The inscription in German on the base reads 'Here rest in God the above mentioned German men who died during the World War in civil captivity'.

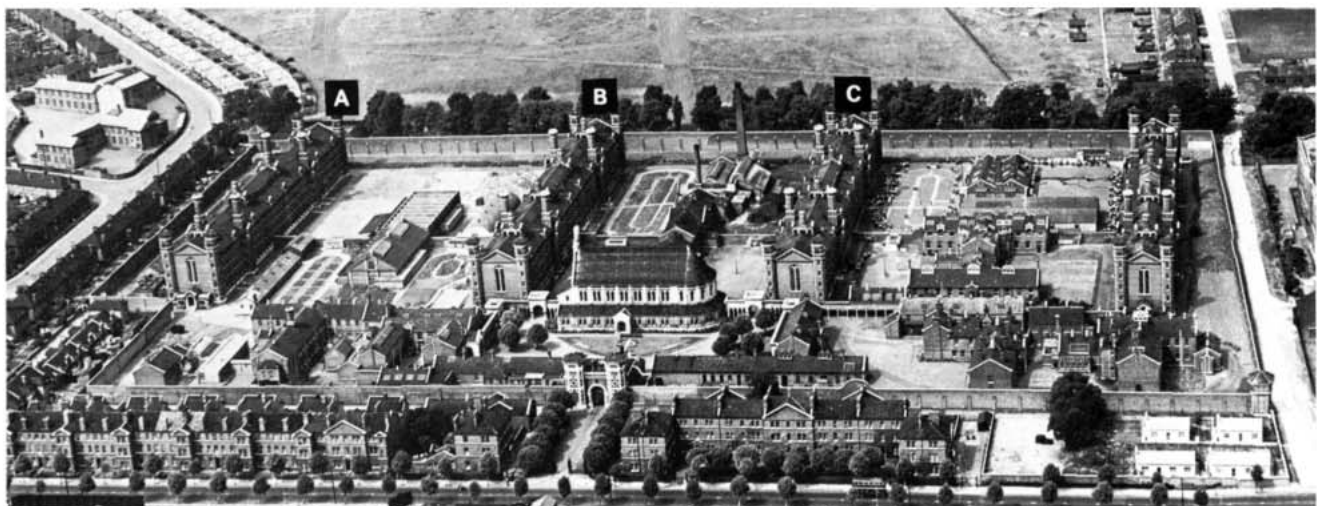
Second World War

As stated in the introduction, by the outbreak of WWII, an even greater penetration of the German espionage system had been made by the British Security Service.

The story begins with an electrical engineer who had emigrated to Canada at an early age, Welshman Arthur Owens. His business travels took him to Germany where, in 1936, a proposal was put to him suggesting he should act as a spy for the Germans. Having already made tentative contact with MI6 (the British Intelligence department dealing with espionage abroad), he agreed to the German proposal. On his return in December, 1936, he told MI6 of the German plan for him to become an agent, declaring that his true loyalties lay with Britain. And so SNOW, the double agent was born, known to the Germans as JOHNNY. His contact in Germany was a Major Ritter (alias DR. RANDZAU) of Section I Luft Hamburg, of Department Abt. I



Above: First home of part of MI5 during the Second World War was in one wing of Blenheim Palace near Oxford. The Duke of Marlborough still resided in the left-hand wing. Below: The headquarters of MI5 then moved to Wormwood Scrubs prison, A, B and C Blocks — what better place to ensure security and secrecy (Aerofilms).



of the German Abwehr. His method of contact was by letter.

In January, 1939, he received a wireless transmitter from Germany, and in August left England for Hamburg. Returning at the end of August, MI6 lost track of him for a few days. It was not until September 4 that he telephoned the Special Branch (the department of the British police force which, as one of its duties, acts as a front for MI5) to request a meeting. As war had now broken out, the Special Branch inspector served a detention order on SNOW when he kept the rendezvous at Waterloo Station. He was imprisoned in Wandsworth Prison and it was from there, under the direction of the Security Service, that his transmitter was installed and from his cell that he contacted Major Ritter. SNOW was soon released to meet Ritter in Holland, where he was given a copy of the German wireless codes and cypher procedures. Thereafter, SNOW began to build up a network of agents to work for the Germans but actually controlled by the British Security Service.

Before the invasion of France and the Low Countries in May 1940, SNOW was the linchpin of the Abwehr organisation in England. By June 1940, the Germans' successful conquest of Europe, whilst making them masters of most of the Continent, had deprived them of advanced bases for espionage in the neutral territories. They had, therefore, to resort to infiltrating agents with refugees crowding into England or by the more nefarious methods of the parachute and submarine. In this they relied on their 'trusted' agent SNOW to provide names and addresses for preparing false identity cards, which, in turn, gave the Security Service clear warning of the impending arrival of new enemy agents.

A special department of MI5 designated B.I.A. was set up to 'run' the spies that had been caught and turned into double agents. The possibility of successfully controlling the German intelligence system depended largely upon the British Isles being totally cut off from the Continent. Although on the outbreak of war 62,244 Germans and 11,988 Austrians living in the United Kingdom were interned, before May 1940, it was relatively easy for an agent to enter this country. After Britain was isolated, the only official entry routes were via Sweden and Portugal. This made the task of detecting incoming agents so much easier, as well as aiding the establishment of double agents without German interference.

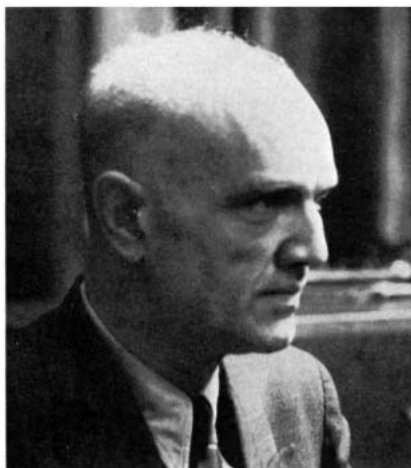
A spy realises, when he accepts the work, that the price of capture is the ultimate penalty. This makes an excellent lever to persuade a captured agent to turn 'double'. Given the alternative of death or working for the other side, most chose the latter course. A 'turned' spy, even so, was a tricky customer and each double agent needed, apart from guards, a case officer to plan and order his every move.

On June 22, 1940, Generaleutnant Erwin von Lahousen, at that time Colonel, was instructed by Admiral Canaris, head of the Abwehr, that England was now No. 1 Priority, and that he must immediately prepare overseas enterprises. The first two agents parachuted into England were two Danish Nazis who landed at Stratford Toney near Salisbury in September 1940. They were Hans Schmidt and Jorgen Bjornson. Unfortunately Bjornson injured his ankle when his parachute caught in an oak tree. Schmidt left him to go for help after notifying their arrival to the Hamburg Abwehr radio station. When he returned he found Bjornson unconscious. Contacting Dr. RANDZAU in Hamburg (known to MI5 as by his real name of Major Ritter) he was told to go to meet a Dr. Roberts at Winchester Railway station, who would help. When he reached the station he made contact with Dr. Roberts who turned out to be JOHNNY, the German master spy. JOHNNY



No. 58 St. James's Street, London, not a stone's throw from Piccadilly, remained the MI5 HQ until the end of WWII.

asked Schmidt to bring Bjornson to an address in Salisbury that evening. He did so and Bjornson was put in a car (provided by MI5) and driven off into internment. Schmidt, then arrested by MI5, eventually broke down under interrogation and became the double agent TATE. His first contact with Hamburg in his new role began in October and he became one of MI5's most trusted wireless agents — the Germans also looked on him highly, awarding the Iron Cross First and Second Class after he became a naturalised German — by radio!



Generaleutnant Erwin von Lahousen pictured at Nuremberg in 1946—the only German general to appear for the Allied prosecution at the trial.

Most of the contact with the Germans was by wireless and Sir John has said that without B.I.A. radio experts keeping the German equipment functioning, many of the spies would have transmitted little to the enemy.

Naturally the double agent system was used to feed the Germans false information, but this had to be so mixed with genuine facts that it would be credible.

The need for solving the problem of what information could safely be given to the Germans was solved in January 1941, with the formation of the Twenty Committee — so

called from the moment of its first meeting, because the number 'twenty' written in Roman numerals represents double cross, 'XX'. The committee, chaired by the then Second Lieutenant John Masterman, held weekly meetings and included representatives from the War Office, G.H.Q. Home Forces, Home Defence Executive, Air Ministry Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, MI5 and MI6. Sir John told the editor how his being chairman with such a junior rank was, at first, looked at with some disapproval by the Admirals and Generals on the Committee.

Sir John sets out the difficulties with which the committee were faced in his final report: 'The double agent is in a difficult position. First of all he has to get as best he can the answers to the questions sent to him. This meant in our cases that we would try to discover for ourselves the answers to the questions under the conditions in which a real spy would work — this is to say that our agent, or someone sent to represent him, would have to procure the information without being spotted at his task'.

This information then had to be submitted to the organisation concerned to obtain their approval to transmit it to the Germans. More often than not, the greater part of the information obtained could not be approved and alternative information had to be concocted.

The eventual purpose behind the use of the double agents was the deliberate deception of the Germans concerning the Allied invasion plans. In this the XX Committee can claim a substantial victory in spite of the TRICYCLE network being 'blown' in May 1944, just before the Normandy landings. A false order of battle was promoted to the Germans showing the main weight of our forces in Scotland, the east and south, instead of their true positions of the Midlands, west and south-west. Then information concerning a fictional army group, the First United States Army Group (FUSAG) comprising the Fourteenth US Army and the Fourth British Army was transmitted to the Germans, mainly by agents GARBO and BRUTUS.

This was so successful that a German map captured in Italy, showing the British order of battle on May 15, 1944, was based largely on this information. Also a recognition booklet

captured in France included coloured drawings of these notional divisional formation signs.

Sometimes the Germans instructed their agents to carry out acts of sabotage and the Security Service were of necessity forced to carry out some of these, to maintain the credibility of the agents in German eyes. It was essential that such acts received adequate publicity so that the news would reach the Germans, but at the same time they had to be carried out anonymously without the prior arrangement with police or newspapers in case the truth leaked out.

The first such double-cross sabotage was PLAN GUY FAWKES carried out in November 1941 by agents MUTT and JEFF.

These two agents were both Norwegians who had originally worked in the German Postal Censorship Department in Oslo. They had been trained by the Abwehr and were landed on April 7, 1941 from a Blohm und Voss seaplane near the Moray Firth in Scotland, under the German code-name 'Operation Hummer Nord III. They had immediately surrendered to the authorities and were able to send their first message to Oslo within a few hours, including the important code 'XYZ' which meant they were not transmitting under duress. The Germans were convinced of their successful landing and they were developed by the Twenty Committee into two of the most useful agents. This was in spite of the fact that JEFF, whose temperament seemed unreliable, was interned on the Isle of Man and later imprisoned in Stafford Goal and Dartmoor. The Germans thought he had been called up by the Norwegian authorities in Britain and sent to Iceland!

The Germans had instructed MUTT and JEFF (known to them as JACK and O.K.) to blow up a foodstore. A storage dump was selected by B.I.A. at Wealdstone in North London. Sir John records that in this particular case a high official of the Ministry of Food had to be taken into their confidence as did the Commissioner of Police at Scotland Yard. The operation had many ticklish moments before being successfully completed. The two aged fire guards had to be raised from their slumber and hurried away from where the incendiary bomb had been placed. Then a zealous policeman almost succeeding in arresting MUTT and JEFF and the fire brigade had to be summoned at just the correct moment so that the fire and explosion caused enough excitement in the district to arouse the press but not great enough to cause serious damage.

In due course, General Lahousen recorded in his war diary that this sabotage had successfully taken place. He had confirmed this from copies of British newspapers reaching Berlin via neutral capitals. He said that although the text was heavily censored, it was not difficult to identify the incident with JACK and O.K. We have reproduced the reports as they appeared in the Times on November 17 and 18.

The same two agents carried out PLAN BROCK a year later where some Nissen huts were blown up with the connivance of Southern Command. The explosion was so successful it destroyed the carefully planted evidence which the police were supposed to find. A soldier was found near the spot who had no convincing story to exonerate himself, and a Special Branch officer had to be sent down by B.I.A. to convince the local authorities (with the aid of further planted clues), that he was not involved and that it had been an act of sabotage.

Then in August 1943 MUTT and JEFF again contrived sabotage at a generating station at Bury St. Edmunds (PLAN BUNBURY) using equipment dropped by parachute by the Germans, originally captured by them from our SOE agents on the Continent!

duction. "If we do the spring. "If we do believe there is a real chance to upset German strategy and shorten the war."

FIRE BOMB IN FOOD DEPOT

The remains of a fire bomb, found after the fire which, as reported yesterday, occurred on November 9 in a Ministry of Food depot in north-west London, were examined yesterday by Scotland Yard and War Office experts. The depot was used for the storage of reserve food supplies. No appreciable damage was done. The Ministry of Food believe that incendiaryism was attempted.

GUARD CAPTURED. The Legion's benevolent body in the George Cross island, which was blitzed out of its offices for the tenth time a week or two ago, and still carries on.

SUSPECTED SABOTAGE IN WORKS

A bomb placed by saboteurs is believed to have been the cause of an explosion in industrial premises of an East Anglian town. A second bomb, which failed to explode, was found outside the premises, and, although the electricity supply was not affected, considerable damage was done to the installation. An investigation is being made.

The contents of the maids' bedroom brought £3,014 at the resumed sale of the...

munition works... royal ordnance factory... the Lord Mayor, who has been 25s. a week... that not only should... Mr. and Mrs. Corner... of the Prince of Wales... son Road, Reading, who... enough to buy another... sixty-fifth anniversary... of the Ark Roy... Crook will be 89 on Th... built on Merseyside... 87. He was formerly a... be avenged," was th...

Because they are... Baker, the amateur goal... of Government, and lawn tennis player, o... Mersey... sent this telegram to Mr. A. V... commander at Liverpool:—"Here is £20,00... Liverpool Warship Week from one goal... infer to another."

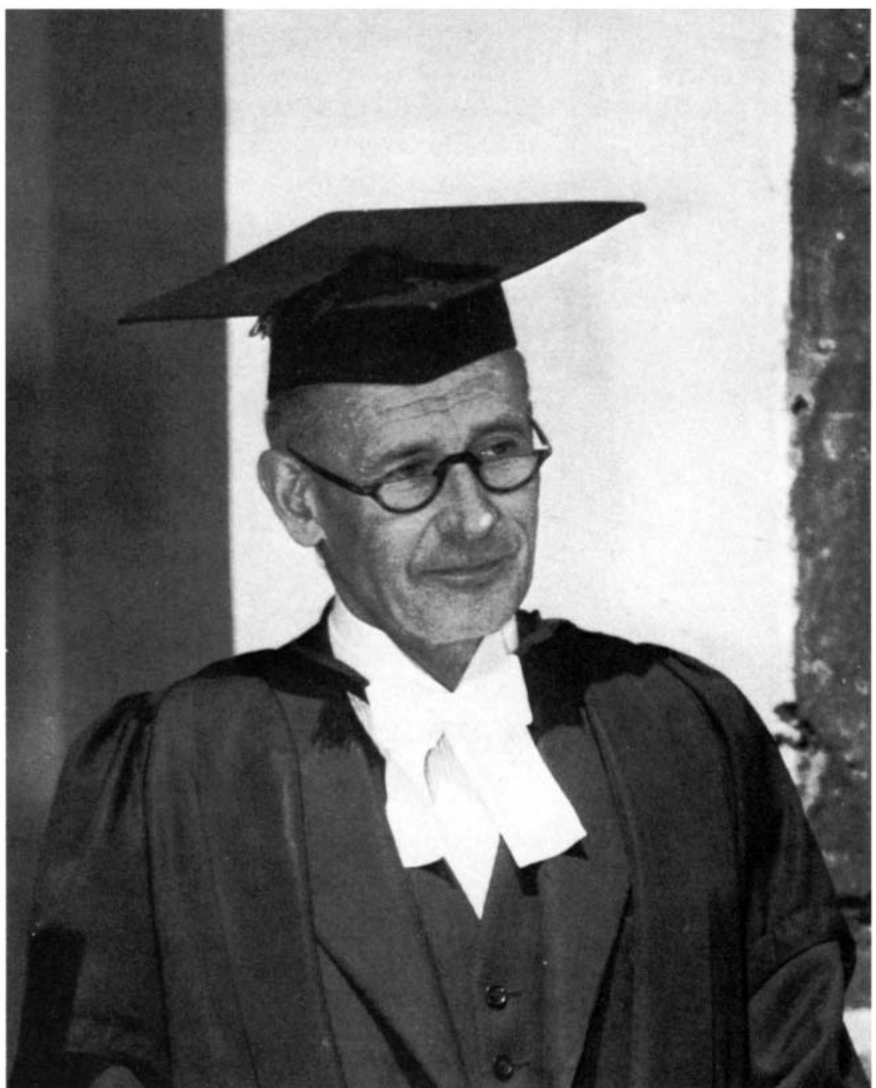
INCENDIARISM SUSPECTED AT FOOD STORE

MINISTRY'S INVESTIGATION

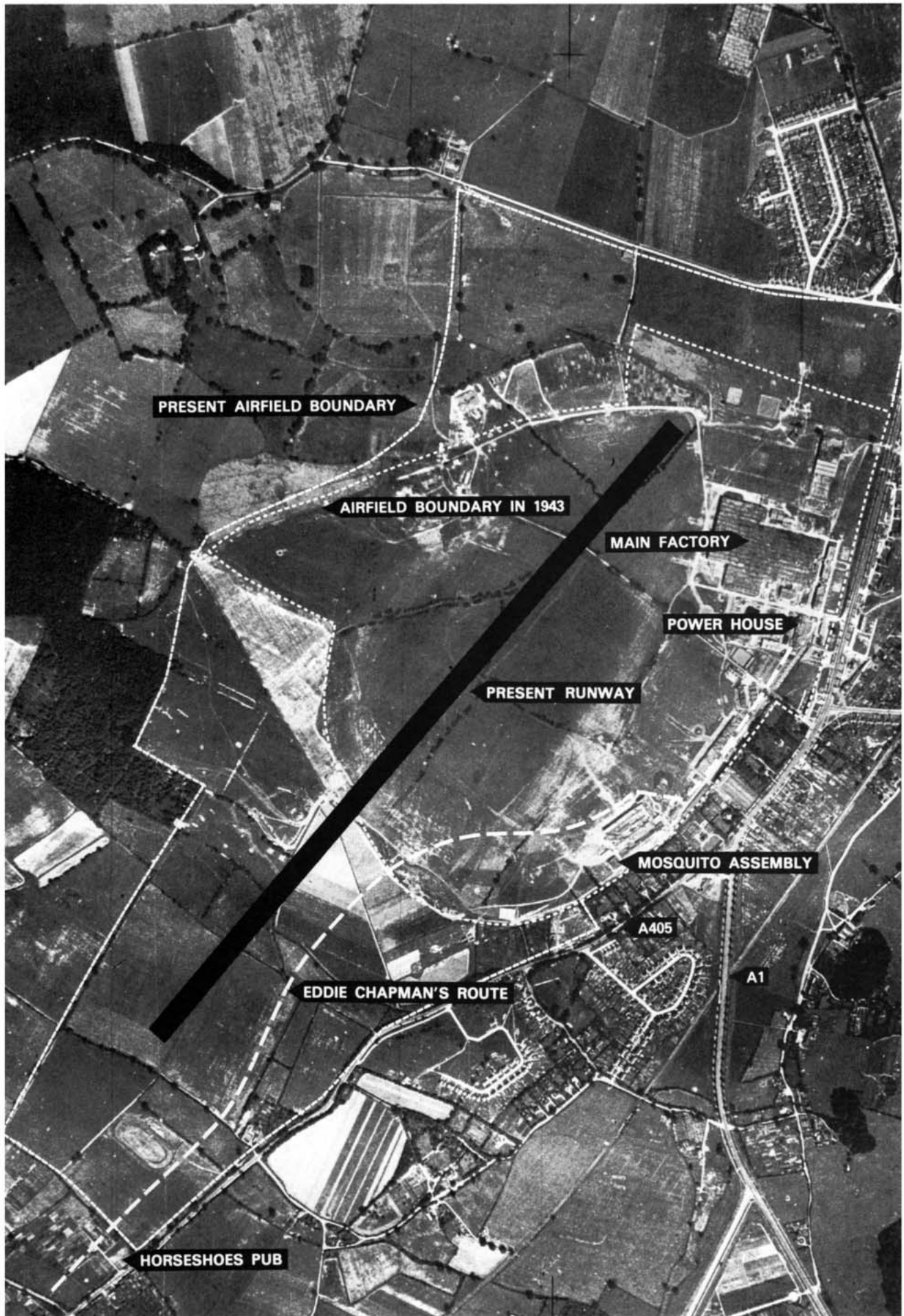
The Ministry of Food issued the following statement last night:—

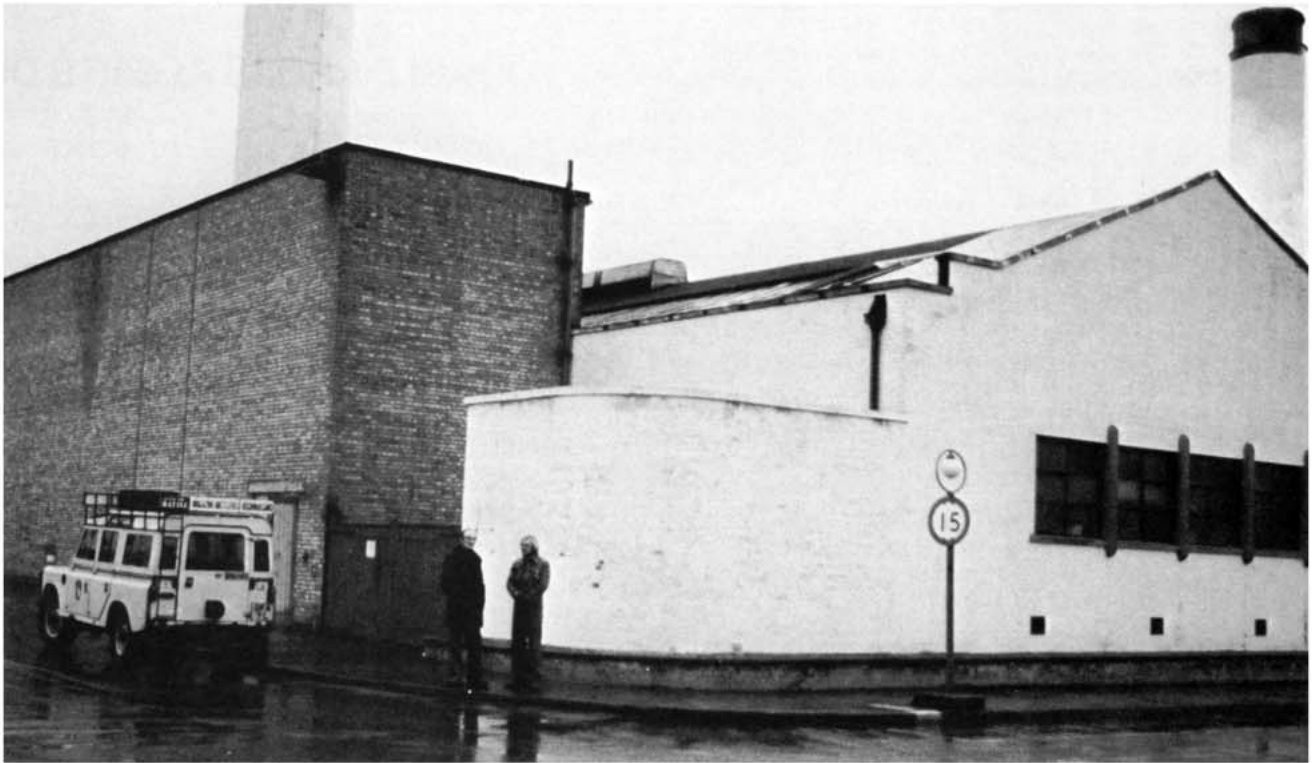
A fire which broke out early Sunday, November 9, in premises in North-West London used by the Ministry of Food for the storage of reserve food supplies, is now under investigation. The fire was fortunately dealt with immediately by the Fire Services and extinguished before it had taken proper hold and no appreciable damage resulted. Circumstances point to an attempt at incendiaryism, which is being closely followed up by the authorities.

FORTITUDE OF JEWS



Sir John Masterman when Vice Chancellor of Oxford University, photographed on June 1, 1957 (Associated Press).





Perhaps the most enterprising piece of double-cross sabotage was that demanded of agent ZIGZAG (actually Eddie Chapman, a safe-blower who had been in prison in Jersey when the Germans took over the island) who was dropped near Ely by parachute in December 1942. His task was to sabotage the De Havilland factory at Hatfield which the Germans considered a prime target because of the construction there of the British 'wonder' aircraft, the Mosquito.

To make the sabotage as authentic as possible, and to make ZIGZAG's story sound convincing when he told it to the Germans on his return to Germany, Eddie Chapman had to prove that a foreign agent could enter the factory illegally by visiting De Havillands surreptitiously one night, four days previous to the explosion. Together with a Major Ryde, they had already established the location of their target, the power house, during a daylight recon of the outside of the factory by wearing overalls and mixing with the workers as they left for lunch. Then on January 2, 1943 accompanied by Major Ryde he was driven to a point to the south of the airfield by a Special Branch officer. The two then clambered over fields and fences, across the airfield and up to the power house.

Having proved it was feasible for an agent to enter the factory, Eddie Chapman then had to steal explosives as he had not been provided with any by the Germans. Not to have done so (or had them supplied by MI5), might have aroused the suspicions of the Germans, so he successfully burgled a quarry at Sevenoaks.

On January 29 at midnight, when the shifts changed, the power house was cordoned off and an illusionist Maskelyne (used by the Secret Service as a camouflage expert), blew out part of the roof and let off smoke bombs. Pieces of transformer were scattered on the ground for the benefit of a German reconnaissance aircraft which was 'allowed' to enter the air space over the factory to photograph what looked like a considerable explosion. Work people at the factory were told a mysterious explosion had occurred in the power room. When we contacted the factory to substantiate this operation, so good had been B.I.A. security, that nothing was known there of the true purpose behind the explosion.

Opposite: A British reconnaissance photograph of Hatfield aerodrome taken shortly before the sabotage (Hawker Siddeley). Above: Eddie Chapman, left, stands outside the power-station in November 1975, the target for the double-cross sabotage at the De Havilland aircraft factory in January 1943.



Above: Eddie Chapman, double agent ZIGZAG, revisits the spot where he crossed the 1943 perimeter fence. Below: ZIGZAG with the editor at Salisbury Hall, not far from Hatfield, beside one of the few surviving Mosquitos—the aircraft whose production the sabotage operation was to curtail.



Additions to the original table by the editor are set in italic type.
w/t: wireless telegraphy s/w: secret writing p/c: personal contact

DOUBLE-CROSS AGENTS DURING

<i>Agents' Code Name</i>	<i>Date of Starting Work</i>	<i>Date of Finishing Work</i>	<i>Method of Communication</i>	<i>Main Tasks</i>	<i>Reason for Conclusion of Case</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
BALLOON	May 41	Nov. 43	s/w	General, especially arms and armament.	Germans considered that other TRICYCLE connections then made BALLOON unnecessary.	<i>Tricycle sub-agent. Real name: Dick Metcalfe.</i>
BRONX	Oct. 42	<i>May 45</i>	s/w	Industrial and political information.	Still working at conclusion of hostilities.	<i>Daughter of South American diplomat.</i>
BRUTUS	Oct. 42	Jan. 45	w/t	To create Polish fifth column in England and report military matters.	Fear of disclosures in trials of French acquaintances of BRUTUS.	An unpaid <i>Polish officer</i> agent working for ideological reasons.
CARELESS	July 41	Jan. 43	s/w	R. A. F. information, especially delivery of American aircraft. Also production of A. A. defences.	Refused to continue to work. (<i>Polish airman. Shot down by Germans in 1939).</i>	His personal conduct and the impossibility of controlling him except in prison spoiled a promising case.
CARROT	June 42	Dec. 42	—	Reports to Vichy Government.	Lack of interest on part of enemy.	Real task—to discover if Vichy was penetrating organisations here.
CELERY	Jan. 41	Aug. 41	p/c	Air Force matters.	Misfortune. <i>SNOW sub-agent.</i>	<i>Luxembourger. Served in Air Intelligence in WWI.</i>
DRAGONFLY	Mar. 41	Jan. 44	w/t	Aerodromes and troop movements. Daily weather reports; military and general information.	German failure to pay agent.	<i>Born in London of German parents. His messages resulted in capture of Oswald Job.</i>
FATHER	June 41	June 43	s/w and reception by w/t	To steal a plane and return to Germany. All Air Force information, including technical.	<i>German.</i> Questions became embarrassing to answer, and agent was posted overseas.	<i>Expert Belgian pilot, DRAGONFLY was his contact.</i>
FIDO	July 43	Feb. 44	s/w (no method of reception)	To steal a plane and return. Information on concentration of troops, aviation, and technical.	Suspicious and bad communications.	<i>French air force pilot.</i>
FREAK	Dec. 43	May 44	w/t	General information and wireless messages on behalf of TRICYCLE.	Breakdown of the TRICYCLE network.	<i>Yugoslav.</i>
GANDER	Oct. 40	Nov. 40	w/t transmission only	Road obstacles and defences in northwest England and morale.	Imperfect means of communication.	<i>Landed October 3, used only for few weeks.</i>
GARBO	Apr. 42	<i>May 45</i>	s/w w/t and courier	General information, especially military. <i>Developed team of imaginary agents.</i>	End of hostilities. <i>Awarded M.B.E. by British and Iron Cross 2nd Class by Germans.</i>	<i>Spaniard, initially freelance agent in Spain. German name ARABEL.</i>
GELATINE	May 41	May 45	s/w	Political information.	<i>Tricycle sub-agent.</i> Conclusion of hostilities.	<i>Austrian. Real name: Gerda Sullivan. German name: 'LADYMAY'.</i>
GIRAFFE	Sep. 40	—	s/w	Air Force matters.	Insufficient traffic	<i>Czechoslovakian.</i>
G. W.	Oct. 39	Feb. 42	p/c and Span. dip. bag	Sabotage. General information.	Arrest of his Spanish contact.	<i>SNOW'S Welsh agent. Real name: Mr. Brown.</i>
JEFF	Apr. 41	Feb. 44	w/t courier	Sabotage. General information.	Doubts about German belief in the case. Imprisoned from Aug. 41 onwards.	<i>Norwegian. Arrived with MUTT. Real name: Olav Klausen. German name 'O.K.'</i>
JOSEF	Aug. 42	Dec. 44	p/c and courier	Shipping and convoys.	Failure to extract sufficient advantage from it.	One of several agents writing to the Japanese at Lisbon. <i>A Russian.</i>
LIPSTICK	Nov. 42	Mar. 44	s/w	Troop disposition and technical information.	Complications due to his Catalan activities.	<i>Catalan much concerned with the separatist movement.</i>
METEOR	Apr. 43	May 44	s/w	General information, especially naval.	Breakdown of the TRICYCLE network.	<i>Yugoslav patriot through which the Germans attempted a triple cross.</i>
MULLETT	Dec. 41	May 44	s/w and p/c	General information, production and industrial.	Doubts about communications.	<i>British Insurance agent in Brussels.</i>

WW II IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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<i>Agents' Code Name</i>	<i>Date of Starting Work</i>	<i>Date of Finishing Work</i>	<i>Method of Communication</i>	<i>Main Tasks</i>	<i>Reason for Conclusion of Case</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
MUTT	Apr. 41	Feb. 44	w/t	Sabotage and general, especially military information.	Doubts about German belief in the case.	<i>Arrived with JEFF, April 7, 1941. Real name: Jack Berg. German name Jack.</i>
PEPPERMINT	Dec. 41	April 43	s/w sent in diplomatic bag	General information, especially morale, military, factories, and aircraft production.	Breakdown of communications.	<i>Employed at Spanish Embassy. Worked to Alcazar. Revival attempted in March 1944</i>
PUPPET	Apr. 43	May 44	s/w	General, especially economic.	Doubts about communications.	<i>Manager Colegate Co. Real name: Mr. Fanto</i>
RAINBOW	Feb. 40	June 43	s/w	Aviation, air defence, industrial, and economic.	Weakening of German interest.	Connected with prewar agents.
ROVER	May 44	May 45	s/w and w/t	Details of aircraft factory. Air raid damage.	Conclusion of hostilities. Rover was returned to Polish army.	<i>Polish sailor captured in 1939.</i>
SHEPHERD	Mar. 44	—	s/w (no method of reception)	Suppliers and manufacturers, attitude of miners and railway employees, coastal inf.	<i>Sept. 44—wireless contact was maintained using XX Committee operators.</i>	<i>Frenchman. Run in order to support NETTLE, an MI6 agent in Spain.</i>
SNARK, THE	July 41	Mar. 43	s/w	Food prices and living conditions.	Lack of German interest.	<i>Female Yugoslav domestic servant.</i>
SNIPER	Nov. 43	May 45	s/w and w/t	Aircraft and scientific apparatus, and methods used in antisubmarine warfare.	End of hostilities.	<i>Pilot in Belgian air force. Handed over to Twenty-first Army Group in Dec. 1944.</i>
SNOW	Sep. 39	Mar. 41	w/t and p/c	General, especially Air Force matters.	<i>Suspected of having been exposed by Germans after visit to Lisbon. Imprisoned.</i>	<i>Canadian. Most important double agent. Real name: Arthur Owens. German name 'JOHNNY'.</i>
SUMMER	Sep. 40	Jan. 41	w/t	General on area round Birmingham.	Agent's attempt to escape. Recaptured Ely.	<i>Landed by parachute September 6, 1940.</i>
SWEET WILLIAM	Aug. 41	Aug. 42	Spanish diplomatic bag	Morale, food situation, etc.	Communication unsatisfactory owing to lack of control.	<i>Briton employed at Spanish embassy.</i>
TATE	Sept. 40	May 45	w/t	<i>Chosen by Germans as paymaster. Operated for more than four and a half years.</i>	End of hostilities. Awarded Iron Cross 1st and 2nd Class by Germans.	<i>Arrival betrayed by SUMMER. Landed by parachute. Real name: Hans Schmidt.</i>
TEAPOT	Jan. 43	1945	w/t and p/c	General.	No further use.	Triple cross who provided inf. for the Admiralty.
TREASURE	Aug. 43	Dec. 44	s/w and w/t	Military information and news about projected invasion.	No further use.	<i>French woman of Russian origin.</i>
TRICYCLE	Dec. 40	May 44	p/c, s/w, and w/t	General, military, and economic information.	Arrest of ARTIST made all TRICYCLE group suspect.	<i>Worked in U.S.A. and U.K. Real name: Dusko Popov. German name IVAN.</i>
WASHOUT	June 42	Dec. 42	s/w	Troop dispositions and aircraft production.	German lack of interest and unsatisfactory character of the agent.	<i>Son of employee in British Embassy at Lisbon.</i>
WEASEL	May 42	Dec. 42	s/w	General and naval.	German failure to reply.	<i>Belgian doctor. Believed to have contrived to warn the Germans.</i>
WORM, THE	July 43	Jan. 44	s/w	<i>Military, naval, and Air Force information.</i>	German lack of interest probably due to length of time spent in reaching England.	<i>Yugoslav. Real name: Jean —</i>
ZIGZAG	Dec. 42	Nov. 44	w/t	Sabotage. Movements of U.S. troops. Anti-U-boat devices and night fighter radio location devices.	Lack of security on part of the agent.	<i>Dropped twice by parachute in England in Dec. 1942 and June 1944. Real name: Eddie Chapman. German code name FRIZCHEN.</i>

Sir John sums up the role of the Twenty Committee as follows:-

- 1) To control the enemy system, or as much of it as we could get our hands on.
- 2) To catch fresh spies when they appeared.
- 3) To gain knowledge of the personalities and methods of the German Secret Service.
- 4) To obtain information about the code and cypher work of the German Service.
- 5) To get evidence of enemy plans and intentions from the questions asked by them.
- 6) To influence enemy plans by the answers sent to the enemy.
- 7) To deceive the enemy about our plans and intentions.

This summary gives a brief outline of the activities of the German agents (if we can call them that) in the United Kingdom during the Second World War, for which the Germans paid out £85,000 between 1940 and 1945. We have reproduced a table of the forty most successful double agents, largely based on that in Sir John Masterman's report. There are in all about 120 personal files dealing with double agents in MI5 records. Many of the agents never developed, others have not been included because they worked in Iceland and Canada. Also the list does not include those agents who arrived in this country but for some reason or other could not be turned into double agents. The activities of the sixteen falling into this latter category are described later, but first a word about XX Committee policy on this point.

A German spy could not be used as a double agent unless certain conditions were met. In the first place, his capture had to follow almost immediately after landing, otherwise he might already have communicated with Germany; secondly the capture had to be unobserved except by a very few, and those to be completely trustworthy people, otherwise a statement in the press or injudicious talk would sooner or later enable the Germans to deduce that a particular spy had in fact been caught; thirdly, the spy had to be 'turned round' and convinced that he could save his life by working for Britain; and finally, the security service had to be satisfied that his code was understood and that messages could in fact be sent which would convince the Germans that the agent was actually working. A live spy, even if he could not transmit messages, was always of some use as a reference source; a dead spy was of no sort of use.

Some however had to perish, both to satisfy the public that the security of the country was being maintained, and also to convince the Germans that the others were working properly and were not being controlled. It would have taxed even German credulity if all their agents had apparently overcome the hazards of their landing!

Sir John told the editor that MI5 had to race the army and police on some occasions to capture a new agent on his arrival; once the spy had been caught in public circumstances, the resulting publicity meant he could not be used. Those that were caught by the police or military authorities were left to face the law of the land — at that time in the form of the Treachery Act which had been passed by Parliament on May 23, 1940. Although this made the death penalty mandatory for enemy agents, they were still accorded a fair trial, which for security purposes, was held behind locked doors 'in camera'. Many agents were interned or imprisoned: sixteen were actually executed. Fifteen of these were tried in civil court at the Central Criminal Court at the Old Bailey and one, a member of the German Armed Forces, by Courts-Martial.

Applications by the editor to view the court records have been denied by the Secretary of State and the Judge Advocate General. Therefore the following details of the sixteen executed have been built up by personal interviews, newspaper records, published



CHAPTER 21.

An Act to make further provision for the trial and punishment of treachery. [23rd May 1940.]

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. If, with intent to help the enemy, any person does, or attempts or conspires with any other person to do, any act which is designed or likely to give assistance to the naval, military or air operations of the enemy, to impede such operations of His Majesty's forces, or to endanger life, he shall be guilty of felony and shall on conviction suffer death. Death penalty for treachery.

2.—(1) Subject as hereinafter provided, persons charged with offences against this Act shall be prosecuted and tried.

accounts and Home Office statements issued at the time.

At the beginning of the Second World War, some sections of MI5 were evacuated to Blenheim Palace, birthplace of Sir Winston Churchill. The HQ then moved, incredibly, to a section of Wormwood Scrubs prison for a period of six weeks before being installed in No 58 St. James Street London at the beginning of 1941. Head of MI5 at that time was General Sir David Petrie.

After the war, No 58 was to become the UK London office of Metro-Goldwyn Mayer Films and, following the demise of that company, the offices were vacated. When we took our photograph in 1975 the premises were still available for rent. Sir John Masterman's office, as Chairman of the Twenty Committee, was on the third floor. After completing his report in the autumn of 1945 (published as 'The Double Cross System'), Sir John returned to his post at Christchurch College, Oxford and finally became Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Without the permission of Sir John's publishers, Yale University Press, to quote extracts, our story would be largely without substance. The editor strongly recommends that any readers interested in this subject should read 'The Double Cross System' by J. C. Masterman. If readers have difficulty in obtaining a copy, a limited number in paperback form are available from our office (see order form).

All extracts credited to Sir John Masterman, including the table of agents, are from *The Double Cross System* and are quoted by permission of Yale University Press 1972 and are Crown Copyright Reserved. Where the editor has added to the table of agents, with information obtained from other sources, this is printed in italic type.

Agent TRICYCLE. Yugoslavian Dusko Popov (who was reputedly the model for Ian Fleming's James Bond), has also written his memoirs in 'Spy Counterspy' published in 1974. The publication of his book was only successful as a direct result of Sir John Masterman having broken through the Official Secrets Act!

Our best reconstruction of British double-cross sabotage was the De Havilland factory at Hatfield, Hertfordshire carried out by agent ZIGZAG—Eddie Chapman.

Eddie Chapman wrote the full account of his wartime experiences as a double agent at the end of the war on the Island of Barra. The French newspaper *Etoile du Soir* serialised the full story in 1946 and for doing so Eddie

Chapman was convicted under the Official Secrets Act on March 29, 1946 at Bow Street court.

A further attempt at publication in the *News of the World* in 1952, under the authorship of a Daily Express reporter Frank Owen, was thwarted by MI5 when they stopped the presses — but not before 3 million foreign editions had been despatched! When the book finally appeared the following year (still not under Eddie Chapman's name), all references to his work for the British Secret Service had been deleted. One could read the book (as the editor remembers doing whilst still at school) and believe that Chapman was a traitor — an Englishman so successful as a German spy that he was awarded the Iron Cross! Fortunately Sir John Masterman's book sets the record straight.

In November 1975, Mr. Chapman kindly agreed to accompany the editor back to the factory, now occupied by Hawker Siddeley since De Havillands ceased to exist in 1960. The airfield was extended to the south in 1947 to incorporate the fields over which Eddie Chapman crossed to reach the airfield perimeter in 1943. The line of the old boundary fence is, therefore, well inside the present aerodrome but we were still able to pinpoint where he crossed it. He then pointed out his route — past the actual buildings where the Mosquitos were assembled — to the power house, still the original building. We ended our nostalgic afternoon with a visit to nearby Salisbury Hall where the first Mosquito prototype was assembled.

Although we made exhaustive enquiries, we were unable to trace the location of the foodstore set on fire at Wealdstone by MUTT and JEFF or the nissen huts destroyed in PLAN BROCK.

It seems that PLAN BUNBURY also carried out by MUTT and JEFF, was well and truly 'contrived' by MI5 for the benefit of the Germans, for when we tried to trace the generating station near the town, we found none existed. Moreover, a letter from the Central Electricity Generating Board confirmed that there never has been a power station at Bury St. Edmunds! No doubt MI5 wrote their own copy for the news item on the sabotage which appeared in the *Times* on August 18, 1943. Anyway, the Germans must have believed it as a Nazi propaganda broadcast on the effects of this explosion claimed over a hundred and fifty workmen had been killed!



The unlucky sixteen

1. JOSE WALDBERG
2. CARL MEIER

APPREHENDED: September 3, 1940

The first enemy agents to be caught and later executed in Britain during the Second World War, were claimed by Colonel Oreste Pinto — the 'Spycatcher' — to have been apprehended by him in September 1940. The following is a precis of Colonel Pinto's own account.

Early on the morning of September 8, a Sunday, Colonel Pinto was just preparing to leave his office after being on duty all night, when an intelligence officer rushed into his room with a radio message received from an agent on the Continent. It read 'U-boat departs Zeebrugge tonight 2130 hours carrying four spies instructed land England before daylight south coast map reference 432925 these men carefully selected and trained for special mission regarding German Operation Sealion.'

Colonel Pinto prepared a reception committee and at 7.00 p.m. that evening, he left London via the A4 together with his Field Security Captain and twelve men. They arrived at the coast at midnight. Only one



Top: The beach near Dungeness, Kent, where Jose Waldborg and Carl Meier came ashore on September 3, 1940. Above: This is where Colonel Pinto 'The Spycatcher' would have us believe it happened — 175 miles away at East Ebb Cove in Dorset!

path led down to the beach and Colonel Pinto posted the twelve men at intervals around the edge of the crescent-shaped cove.

The long wait was relieved at four o'clock by the flash of torches. As the men closed in and Pinto and the Captain reached the centre of the confusion, it was seen that three men had been apprehended. The fourth man was missing. Separately, out of earshot of one another, the three were questioned by Colonel Pinto. The first two interrogated were the Germans, Waldborg and Meier. They were well dressed in English suits marked with an English tailor's label and both had radio transmitters and plenty of money. They would not admit the existence of a fourth man. The third man proved, however, to be a Dutchman and he was anxious to save his skin. He told Pinto that the fourth person was also a Dutchman named van der Kieboom and that they had all come ashore together.

Pinto decided to wait for daybreak before resuming the search, and at about 6.15 a.m. there was enough light to begin. His men fanned out and, starting from one end of the beach, slowly paced towards the other. There was shrub and gorse at the back of the beach but, after every inch had been examined, the men reached the far end without sighting van der Kieboom.

Pinto and the Captain had been guarding the path so there could have been no escape

that way. Almost ready to give up the search, Pinto suddenly laughed aloud—there were thirteen men standing in line. Van der Kieboom had stood up when the search began in the half-light and joining the end of the line, had slowly walked across the beach searching for himself. Pinto admitted that had he not been superstitious, in that only twelve men had been chosen for the job, he might have given up and gone back to the cars, allowing van der Kieboom to walk free from the beach.

Colonel Pinto served at the Royal Victorian Patriotic School at Wandsworth under a Ronnie Hayler (who we have been unable to trace) as one of the joint heads of the interrogation centre which was set up to screen refugees entering this country and others arriving in suspicious circumstances. Pinto, later famous for his 'Spycatcher' books and TV series, was a Dutchman who had lived in England for many years and spent over thirty years of his life in various counter-intelligence agencies both here and on the Continent. He claimed he played an important part in the uncovering of seven of those spies finally executed, Waldborg, Meier, Kieboom, Drucke, Walti, Dronkers and Timmerman, and for the imprisonment of others.

However, as the editor's research progressed, he began to doubt the authenticity of



Colonel Oreste Pinto who died in 1961—the man with a doubtful reputation.

Colonel Pinto's books. The editor has been told they were written and published in the 1950s without official vetting or approval. When the manuscript of 'Spycatcher' and 'Friend or Foe?' was submitted to the War Office in 1950 for approval by Pinto's publishers, it was returned with a note saying there was nothing which H.M. Government objected to—surely an admission in itself. Possibly Colonel Pinto may have changed the details concerning each capture to avoid causing any embarrassment to the authorities so soon after the war.

We were already suspicious of the Pinto accounts (even the date of the capture is wrong in this case—it should be September 3), and when we checked the map reference, (incorrectly assuming it was a National Grid Reference) we found that it existed nowhere along the coastline of the United Kingdom. However, by changing the last 2 to a 1, it became the map reference for East Ebb Cove just west of the River Brit in Dorset. We visited the cove although realising that its distance from Zeebrugge, where the submarine departed, would be too far for a one-night journey. The cove fitted exactly Colonel Pinto's description; crescent-shaped, gorse and shrub behind the beach and a path to the cliff-top which, we were told locally, was cut away by the Home Guard during the war to prevent further exit or entry to the beach.

However, we checked further. The Home Office had already been very co-operative in the preparation of this feature (bearing in mind they are faced with the 100-year rule of Section 5 (1) of the Public Record Act 1958, not to disclose anything), and so we decided to ask them for help. They agreed to give us confirmation of the place of capture of the three agents executed (they denied officially that there was a fourth man).

When their reply came, its news was as we expected. From their closed files they had, exceptionally, agreed to give us the information. They said that Waldberg and Meier landed near Dungeness and van der Kieboom eight miles away at a point to the west of Hythe—both places 175 miles from East Ebb Cove!

Colonel Pinto's account had been confirmed as no more than a good story. One person closely concerned with the events at the time has said 'Publication of Pinto's accounts was only allowed because they were a pack of lies'. When, in 1960, the BBC decided to present the Spycatcher TV programmes, they were told by at least one senior police officer that he was reluctant to be associated with such an inaccurate series.

It is doubtful if we shall ever know Colonel Pinto's reasons for setting himself up as 'The Spycatcher', as he died in Westminster Hospital in 1961.



This is the interrogation centre — the Royal Victorian Patriotic Asylum School for Girls — just opposite the prison at Wandsworth (where WWII agents were executed). Today, renamed, it is the Spencer Park Comprehensive School incorporating a training college for school teachers.

Ironically, his last wish was overlooked. He had a phobia about being buried and had left strict instructions in his will (made several years before) that he should be cremated. When he died suddenly in hospital, due to an oversight on behalf of the executor, the will was not re-examined in the rush before the ceremony took place. It was only after his burial in West Kensington Cemetery that the mistake was discovered. As Home Office approval would have been necessary for the cremation of a person already buried, it was decided to let him rest in peace.

As far as the apprehension of Waldberg and Meier is concerned, we must, therefore, turn elsewhere for the true facts. Fortunately the case was described in detail by The Earl Jowitt (who appeared as Counsel for the Prosecution at the trial), in his book 'Some were Spies', published with the approval of the authorities in 1954.

Jose Waldberg, born in Mainz, Germany, of a German father and French mother, was a professional spy who had been on the staff of the German espionage service since March 1938. He was trained at Wiesbaden. His assignment was to enter England and report on the nature of the south coast fortifications and types and location of coastal and anti-aircraft guns. He was to concentrate on purely military targets.

His companion, Carl Meier, was a Dutchman. He had been born in Germany and had become a member of a Dutch political group working for union with Germany. After the

armistice between Holland and Germany, he met a German officer who offered him highly paid work in the German espionage service. He was trained in Morse code and briefed on his task which was to report on Army and RAF strengths and movements.

On September 2, they had a farewell party in Le Touquet at which their German hosts introduced them to two Dutchmen who were to travel to England with them. Embarking on a fishing boat, they proceeded to Boulogne where they met two German minesweepers which were to escort them across the Channel.

Seven miles east of Dungeness, the minesweepers left the fishing boat to continue westwards alone. The boat then stopped to let off Waldberg and Meier in a rowing boat and later proceeded northwards for a further twenty minutes before stopping again to transfer the two Dutchmen to another dinghy.

The first two reached the shore near Dungeness and hid their belongings and food in a disused lifeboat. They then hid their wireless set, first under an overturned advertising hoarding, then, next morning, moving it to a safer place in a tree a short distance from the seashore.

In the meantime Waldberg had become very thirsty and they agreed that Meier, whose English was almost perfect, should go to the nearest town to buy a drink and some cigarettes.

Approaching Lydd along New Street, he entered the first public house he came to—the Rising Sun. As he entered the pub at 9.30 a.m., well before opening time, the publican's



Above: Entering the Rising Sun for a quick one, exactly thirty-five years after Carl Meier opened the same door. Mr. and Mrs. Cole, the publicans in 1940, have since retired to Wem in Shropshire.



Above: That's better! Standing beneath the light fitting, broken by Meier. This was a separate little bar in 1940; the dividing wall was knocked down in 1970.



Above: Although now a launderette, this was Tilbey's stores in September 1940—directly opposite the Rising Sun—where Carl Meier went to buy cigarettes.



Above: The old police station at Lydd, to which the two Germans were taken by Sergeant Tye. Now converted into flats, the police station now occupies a new house a few yards away.

wife, Mabel Cole, was at first surprised, then suspicious. Mrs. Cole explained she could not serve him with the Champagne Cider he had asked for (advertised on an old sign outside the pub), and said he would have to come back later. As he turned, he banged his head on the light fitting on the low ceiling, breaking the light.

Mrs. Cole sent him over the road to Tilbey's Stores to buy the cigarettes he wanted, but meanwhile sent a note to her husband, who also owned the butcher's shop about a hundred yards away.

When Meier returned to the pub, an RAF officer, who happened to be living a couple of doors away, was waiting for him. Not having the required permit to travel so near the coast, a banned area, the game was up and he was taken to the local police station in charge of Sergeant Tye.

He stated that he was Dutch and had landed from France in a boat, and had left some food in the dinghy in a sack. Sergeant Tye took Meier down to the seashore but the sack of food was no longer there. It had been found by a local labourer, Hayles, who earlier that morning had noticed a new rowing boat floating a few yards out to sea. He had rowed the boat to the coastguard station and later that day the police tracked him down. He still had the sack of food and Meier was able to identify it as his.

All this time he had said nothing about a companion, but early the following day the police saw a man walking towards the beach. When accosted Waldberg made no pretence of who he was and led the police straight to where he had rigged up the wireless set. From an examination of his notebook, he had already sent three messages in French to the Germans. Translated into English they were:

ARRIVED SAFELY DOCUMENT DESTROYED
ENGLISH PATROL TWO HUNDRED METRES
FROM COAST BEACH WITH BROWN NETS AND
RAILWAY SLEEPERS AT A DISTANCE OF FIFTY
METRES NO MINES FEW SOLDIERS UNFINISHED
BLOCK HOUSE NEW ROAD WALDBERG.

Another one read:

MEIER PRISONER ENGLISH POLICE SEARCHING
FOR ME AM CORNERED SITUATION DIFFICULT I
CAN RESIST THIRST UNTIL SATURDAY IF I AM
TO RESIST SEND AEROPLANES WEDNESDAY
EVENING ELEVEN O'CLOCK AM THREE KM
NORTH OF (point of) ARRIVAL LONG LIVE
GERMANY WALDBERG.

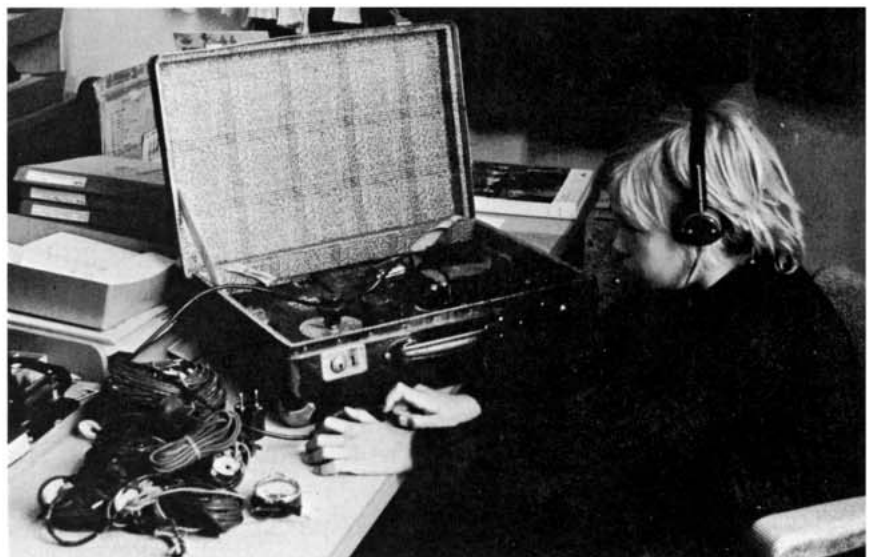
A still further message read:

THIS IS EXACT POSITION YESTERDAY EVENING
SIX O'CLOCK THREE MESSERSCHMITT FIRED
MACHINE GUNS IN MY DIRECTION THREE
HUNDRED METRES SOUTH WATER RESERVOIR
PAINTED RED MEIER PRISONER.

Faced with this damning evidence, there was no possible defence at the trial, held in No. 1 Court at the Old Bailey, and The Earl Jowitt records that Waldberg did not even trouble to



Above: There is not much left of Boulder Wall Farm today, where Jose Waldberg was caught. Below: The five-watt radio transmitter which Waldberg and Meier brought with them was given to the Imperial War Museum in London by Colonel T. A. Robertson, head of B.I.A., in April 1946. In favourable conditions the radio had a range of 400 miles transmitting on 4314 kcs and 5986 kcs.



give evidence on his own behalf. The two Dutchmen, whose story follows this, were also tried at the same time.

Waldberg and Meier were convicted on November 22, 1940 and hanged together in the green-painted execution chamber at Pentonville Prison on December 10, 1940.

We visited the Dungeness area of Kent in September 1975. We had a drink in the Rising

Sun (having made sure it was opening time!) where we discovered the broken light fitting. Modernisation alterations in 1970 have now joined the two bars which were separate in 1940.

A local fisherman, Mick Bates, who was in the Royal Observer Corps at Dungeness in 1940, told us that he heard a diesel-engined boat approach the shore during that night and



Above: The coastline has been completely altered at Dymchurch by the construction of this massive sea wall. Photograph taken looking towards Dymchurch Redoubt.

turn north, parallel with the coast. Luckily for the spies, he said, no mines had been laid at that time but builders' scaffolding had been erected on part of the beach as an anti-invasion precaution. He also said that another fisherman, George Bunston, who has since died, found the agents' briefcase with maps, etc. The lifeboat where they had hidden the food had belonged to the Normandie and had been washed up after Dunkirk. Mr. Bates pointed out to us where Waldborg had been found on Boulder Wall Farm, now mostly occupied by a huge gravel pit.

The old coastguard lookout tower at Lade was pulled down in 1970 and the station is now situated in a new house nearby; the old Lydd police station is now converted into flats.

3. CHARLES VAN DER KIEBOOM and SJOERD PONS

APPREHENDED: September 3, 1940

Pons and van der Kieboom brought their boat ashore in the early hours of September 3, further along the coast to the north in the area of Romney Marsh, not far from the redoubt at Dymchurch.

They carried with them a suitcase containing their personal clothing, a sack with provisions, a radio set and a code on a piece of brown linen.

About 5.00 a.m. Private Tollervey of the Somerset Light Infantry challenged a man by the sea wall. The man answered that he did not understand and that he was a Dutch refugee. It was in fact van der Kieboom. When searched, a loaded pistol was found in his possession. After his arrest, Kieboom asked to go to the toilet and was able to flush away the linen code.

A little later, at 5.15 a.m., Private Chappell, searching the area where the man was first seen, found the sack and the suitcase. Ten minutes later, Pons was arrested by another soldier and handed over to the police. Later in the day Lance-Corporal Goody found the radio set covered with grass.

They both appeared in court with Waldborg and Meier on November 22, 1940. The Earl Jowitt recorded that, faced with being captured in such circumstances, they were not difficult to prosecute although they adopted the only line of defence possible: that they had been forced to undertake espionage by the Germans but were resolved to give themselves up on landing to the British Authorities. However, the disposal of the code by van der Kieboom and the concealed wireless set were not the acts of innocent men. We can imagine, therefore, the surprise in the court when the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty on Pons. The Earl Jowitt did not believe the complete truth had been revealed; one story reaching the editor is that Pons turned King's

WELL, WHO HAD THE RADIO SET, ANYWAY?

You remember those German Spies they caught? You remember their radio set? It seems to have changed hands a lot. All the papers show it in the hands of someone different.

TWO German spies came to England with a little radio set. By day, they planned to hide in woods and quarries. By night, they hoped to transmit valuable information to Germany through the little radio set. They believed they would soon be relieved by Nazi troops. They believed their task would be short. The first was wrong. The second was right. They were quickly caught, convicted, executed. But what happened to the little radio set? Almost every London daily paper photographed it. We reproduce their photographs on this page. Each one shows the set in the possession of someone different. What we want to know is, who did have the radio set, anyway?

The Daily Express Showed an Officer Playing With It
"This neat little one-valve radio transmitting set—being demonstrated in London—was found in the possession of two German spies," said the "Express."

The Daily Telegraph Showed an N.C.O. With It
"The transmitting set found in possession of two enemy agents," was the "Telegraph" caption.

The Daily Herald
The got there just as this mysterious gentleman made off with the set.

The News Chronicle
The mapped this young man with the set before he could get rid of it.

The Daily Sketch Version of the Story
"Nazi spies executed. This was their radio," said the "Daily Sketch." And they show it in the possession of a pretty girl.

DAILY MIRROR
All the got was a mysterious hand. Whose could it be?

PICTURE POST

Evidence against the other Dutchman and, in return, his life was spared. Whatever the true reason, he was imprisoned for the duration of the war and then transferred to a Dutch prison.

Van der Kieboom asked for one last chance—to enlist with the Allies, where a soldier's death might retrieve his honour. Regardless of this, in his last letter to his mother from his cell at Pentonville, he admitted he was happy to die for his Fuhrer. Seven days after Waldborg and Meier had been executed, he stood on the same gallows—on Tuesday, December 17. At 8.00 a.m. the trap was sprung.

A page from the Picture Post of December 28, 1940. This is not Waldborg and Meier's set, but van der Kieboom's, who was arrested by the Army.

When the east coast of England was flooded in the 1950s, one result was that sea wall defences were strengthened. At Dymchurch, a massive reinforced concrete wall, nearly twenty feet high with an elevated promenade runs right along beside the coastal road. It is difficult therefore without an actual map reference (which no doubt exists in the official files) to pinpoint exactly where the two Dutchmen came ashore.

4. WERNER HEINRICH WALTI
5. KARL THEO DRUCKE
and VERA ERIKSON

APPREHENDED: September 30, 1940

Later that month, the second group of German agents arrived under the German operation 'Hummer Nord I'. Generaleutnant Lahousen had originally planned this operation to be led by a German Abwehr Captain from the Hamburg office, Hans Dierks. He was to land in England with two other Abwehr agents, Karl Drugge and Robert Petter, together with his girl friend, a Russian dancer he had first met in Paris before the war. His girl friend Vera was to become the long-lost niece of an elderly Italian countess living in Kensington. The Germans thought this would be excellent cover for her to meet people prominent in British public life through the countess' reputation as a lavish hostess. On the day before their departure from Hamburg for Norway on September 2, the four agents arranged to have a ceremonial send-off with a party in the Lowenbrau Restaurant. Leaving the restaurant after an evening of beer and schnapps, Dierks, the driver, overturned the car in the Sierichstrasse, killing himself. The other three received only minor cuts and bruises.

Lahousen's first reaction was to call off the entire operation but, being desperately short of trained spies, with the imminence of the planned invasion of England, he ordered the operation to proceed.

On September 21, their faces and hands still covered with sticking plaster, the three agents left Hamburg for Stavanger, Norway.

There they were taught how to launch their rubber dinghy from the flying boat which was to take them to Scotland. They were provided with English bicycles, found in the cellar of the British Consulate at Bergen, on which they were ordered to cycle the six hundred miles to London! They were provided with espionage equipment, radios, money and British Identity Cards and ration books.

Vera was described in her documents as Madame Vera Erikson, a Dane living at 18 Sussex Place, London W11. Drugge became Francois de Decker, a French refugee from Belgium, although when he was later arrested by the British he spelt his name as Drucke. The address in his Identity Card was 15 Sussex Gardens, London W2. Robert Petter, who was born in Zurich, Switzerland on December 14, 1915, was described as Werner Heinrich Walti, a Swiss subject living at 23 Sussex Gardens, London W2.

An attempt was made on September 26 to land the agents, but they found the Scottish coast covered in mist and rain clouds, and had to return to Norway. Another abortive attempt followed, again foiled by bad weather, and it was not until September 30 that the flying boat once more took off from Stavanger at 2.30 a.m.

A successful landing was made off the coast at Buckie, but, in the choppy sea, the bicycles were lost in transferring them to the dinghy. They reached the shore safely but, without the bicycles, then had to change their plans regarding transport to London. They decided to split up, Petter going to the east and Drugge and Vera to the west.

The latter two had studied their maps and planned to catch a train from Portgordon. Carrying a large suitcase and two smaller bags they reached the station at 7.30 a.m. As they entered, they were observed by the stationmaster, John Donald, and the porter, John Geddes. Vera spoke first and when she asked for the name of the station, it aroused their suspicions. Drugge, meanwhile, pointed out Forbes on a wall timetable to Donald, the stationmaster. As he opened his wallet crammed with notes to pay for two third-class tickets, the stationmaster noticed that the bottom of the man's trousers was soaking wet



Vera, Drugge and Petter practice landing from a Heinkel He 115 seaplane in Norway prior to the operation (Odams). Below: Robert Petter's identity card in the name of Walti — note the give-away Continental style of writing.

NATIONAL REGISTRATION			NATIONAL REGISTRATION		
CNXY	146	1	CNXY	146	1
WÄLTI WERNER			WÄLTI WERNER		
1. This Identity Card must be carefully preserved. You may need it under conditions of national emergency for important purposes. You must not lose it or allow it to be stolen. If, nevertheless, it is stolen or completely lost, you must report the fact in person at any local National Registration Office. 2. You may have to show your Identity Card to persons who are authorised by law to ask you to produce it. 3. You must not allow your Identity Card to pass into the hands of unauthorised persons or strangers. Every grown up person should be responsible for the keeping of his or her Identity Card. The Identity Card of a child should be kept by the parent or guardian or person in charge of the child for the time being. 4. Anyone finding this Card must hand it in at a Police Station or National Registration Office.			DO NOTHING WITH THIS PART UNTIL YOU ARE TOLD		
			Full Postal Address of Above Person:—		
			<i>Werner H. Walti</i> <i>23 Sussex Gardens</i> <i>London W2</i> (Signed) <i>W. H. Walti</i> Date <i>14 June</i>		

and the woman's shoes and stockings were also damp. Telling the porter to keep them talking, John Donald telephoned the local policeman, Constable Grieve. Within ten minutes Grieve had arrived at the station and immediately asked to see their identity cards. He noticed that although both claimed to be refugees, there was no immigration stamp on either card, also that both were written in a Continental style of handwriting.

Below: The stationmaster at Portgordon station, John Donald, telephoned his suspicions to the local constable.



With his suspicions confirmed, Constable Grieve asked the couple to accompany him to Portgordon Police Station. There he telephoned Inspector John Simpson at Buckie.

This is what happened as told by Inspector Simpson himself seventeen years later, then still at Buckie Police Station:

'On the morning of Monday, September 30, 1940, I received a telephone message from

Below: His porter on September 30, 1940 was John Geddes. Both stationmaster and porter have since died.





Above: The beach at Gollachy Burn where the three agents landed. On the left is the farmhouse where the dog barked. The railway line used to run on the embankment to the village of

Portgordon which can be seen in the background. Below: The little wooden station at Portgordon, scene of the arrest of Vera and Drugge.



Our reconstruction in August 1975. Above: 'Vera' and 'Drugge' enter the booking office and . . .



. . . 'Drugge' points to the list of stations, indicating Forres, about twenty-five miles away.



The counter on which the two unfortunate German agents purchased their tickets—to captivity!



Constable Grieve, Portgordon, in consequence of which I went to Portgordon Police Station. There I saw a man and a woman.

'I asked the man who he was, and the woman said, "He cannot speak English!" I was suspicious of them and ran my hands over the man for firearms and found a box containing nineteen rounds of revolver ammunition.

'The woman gave the name of Vera Erikson. She told me she was twenty-seven years of age, that she was a widow and had no occupation. She also said she was a Danish subject born in Siberia. I asked her to produce her identity papers and she produced National Registration Card CNFX/141/2. I asked the man for his identity papers, and he produced National Registration Card CNFQ/141/1. Both cards had Continental figures.

'Constable Grieve and I had the man and woman conveyed to Buckie Police Station, where a thorough check was made of their possessions and inquiries set going regarding them, as by this time we were satisfied they were enemy agents.

'In reply to questions as to how they got to Portgordon, the woman said they came down from Bergen in a small boat named the *Norstar*, the name of the captain being Andersen. She said they had spent the previous night at a hotel in Banff and had hired a taxi to within a mile of Portgordon and walked to the railway station.

'The man had the following in his possession: an electric torch with a blue bulb and the word "Hawe" and "made in Bohemia" on the bottom; a watch with a monogram H.W.D. engraved on the back; pocket knife, safety razor blades, propelling pencil, leather wallet, a traveller's ration book (blank) bearing the number CA568263, a piece of flexible material sewn into a piece of blue cloth, a single third-class railway ticket from Portgordon to Forres, dated September 30, 1940, and £327 in Bank of England notes and 10s. 3d. in coins. I also found a piece of German sausage and other foodstuffs.

'I burst open a suitcase he carried and found a small Mauser pistol loaded with six rounds of ammunition in the magazine. I also found two circular cardboard discs fastened together with a brass split pin (coding device), a sheet of paper bearing a number of place-names, a sheet of graph paper, a wireless transmitting set, three small and two large batteries, two valves wrapped in corrugated paper, a voltmeter, a Morse tapping key, headphones, a three-way plug and wire.

'In the woman's handbag I found a third-class railway ticket from Portgordon to Forres, dated September 30, 1940. She had £72 in Bank of England notes and 4s. 10d. in



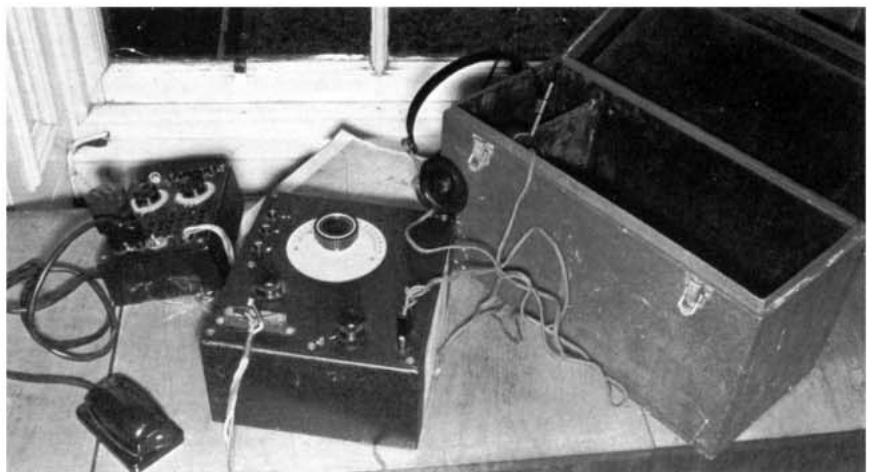
Left: Ex-Constable Robert Grieve and ex-Inspector John Simpson revisit Portgordon police station, photo above, thirty-five years later. Below: The 6.35mm Mauser 'vest-pocket' automatic pistol No. 20074 and knife, both carried rather stupidly by Karl Drugge inside his suitcase, now in the possession of ex-Chief Constable William Merrilees.



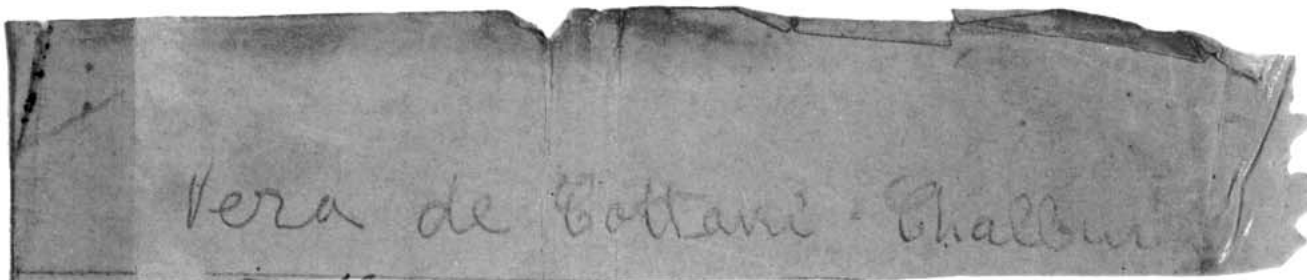
coins. She also had cosmetics, tablets and toilet articles. Inquiry revealed that the man and women were seen about 7.30 a.m. by porter Geddes and stationmaster Donald at Portgordon Railway Station . . .

When the whole matter was reported to

Police HQ at Banff, measures were at once taken to deal with the possibility of others having landed. The beach was searched and a pair of rubber boots bearing a foreign name was found at Gollachy Burn. There were also particles of food and, at the house a few yards



Drugge's wireless transmitter, also owned by William Merrilees.



When Vera was taken to Buckie police station, Inspector Simpson asked her to write down her name. This is the actual piece of paper still in Mr. Simpson's possession. Whether the name 'Vera de Cottani de Chalbur' is her real name remains a mystery.



Above: Robert Grieve and John Simpson with the editor outside the old Buckie police station where Vera Erikson and Karl Drugg were taken for questioning.

away, it was learnt that the dog had barked furiously in the early morning.

It was then discovered that, earlier that morning, a man had walked into the booking office at Buckpool Railway Station, to the east of Portgordon.

When Petter had left the other two, he had walked east and arrived at Buckpool Station at 6.50 a.m. There he had been told that the train for Aberdeen had just left and the next one would leave Buckie Station, a mile further east, at 9.58 a.m. Arriving at Buckie at about 7.45 a.m., he had purchased a single ticket to Edinburgh and had left on the train to Aberdeen.

The Aberdeen City Police were contacted and they were able to confirm that a man answering the description given had joined a train for Edinburgh.

Then at about 11.45 a.m. the Buckie coast-guard saw an object floating in the sea about a quarter of a mile out. Coastguard Addison set out with the harbour-master and retrieved the object, a pair of bellows and, some distance away, a rolled-up rubber dinghy.

Meanwhile Petter had left Aberdeen on the Edinburgh express at 1.00 p.m. that afternoon and had arrived at Waverley Station, Edinburgh, at 4.30 p.m. There he asked a destination-board attendant named Cameron when the next train was leaving for London. Cameron told him not until 10.00 p.m. and suggested that the traveller should leave his heavy suitcase in the left luggage office and come back at nine o'clock.

Petter deposited his suitcase and then walked to Princes Street where he had a shave and a meal and went to the cinema to kill time. What follows is taken from Chief Constable William Merrilees' autobiography 'The Short Arm of the Law':

'It was not until 5.10 p.m. that day, forty

minutes after the train from the north had arrived in Edinburgh, that the news of this occurrence reached the Criminal Investigation Department (Special Branch). A comb-out of the city was ordered.

'I ascertained that there had been a check of identity cards on the train at Dundee, but no trace of anything suspicious had been found. Despite this, we made enquiries at Waverley Station, Edinburgh, and all porters were questioned. All left-luggage offices were searched, and all railway sidings. At the same time enquiries were going on at all likely places within the city, such as rest-houses, boarding houses, hotels, Y.M.C.A. establishments, and Salvation Army hostels.

'While this was going on, two of my officers searching the left-luggage office at the north-east end of Waverley Station came across a case with a whitish irregular mark, from which they were sharp enough to deduce that the case had been standing in salt water. At this point a destination-board attendant asked another railway employee what "the splits" were after. Informed that they were questioning porters who had carried luggage from the north train, he came to us and said that he himself had carried luggage for a man

off the train. Not actually being a porter, this was no duty of his, and he had been missed in the enquiries. He identified the white-stained case as the one that he had carried. The case was opened, and inside was found a wireless transmitting set of German manufacture. It was certain now that there was a third agent, and that he had reached Edinburgh.

'What was to be done now? Someone was going to come to collect this case. Unfortunately the situation of this left-luggage office was badly placed for watching purposes, as between it and the platform there was only a narrow space divided by a paling against which were set stalls for the sale of papers, cigarettes, etc. These were a positive handicap and any of my men merely standing about between them and the office would have scared away any cautious agent. Lady officers might have been less apt to arouse suspicion, but this was outweighed in my mind by the fact that an enemy agent might well be armed and dangerous. I did of course have men watching from more distant points and I arranged for these to be accompanied by ladies of the Women's Voluntary Service for camouflage. I decided that a porter would be least noticeable in the close vicinity of the



The rubber dinghy, found floating in the sea by Coastguard Addison, was photographed at MI5 headquarters in St. James's Street to be used as evidence.



Werner Walti, returning from Princes Street via Waverley Bridge, descended this staircase into the arms of 'Wee Willie'.

office, and borrowing a porter's uniform, I took on this task myself. Subsequently, I fear, I misdirected numerous travellers to the wrong platforms.

'I had a three-hour wait, during which time I observed no lack of foreigners, in and out of uniform, this being the period when the Polish forces were being brought to Scotland. Many of them were checked, without result. But at last, about 9 p.m., a man in foreign-type clothing came down the nearby steps from Princes Street, approached the left-luggage office, hesitated for a second or two, then strolled on some fifteen yards and stood at a corner of one of the kiosks, intently watching the left-luggage office. I sent for the destination-board attendant who had acted porter, and asked him if this was his client. He was trying to make up his mind, for in the blacked-out station the visibility was not good—when the suspect himself approached and handed him a left-luggage ticket, saying, "Now, please".'

'The porter took the ticket and went to get the luggage, the suspect retreating, with his back towards the piling and the kiosk, and standing with his left hand hidden in his trouser pocket, arm apparently rigid. Clearly he was armed. I sauntered up to him. As he watched me, I gestured with my hands as if to someone behind him—an old trick. When he half-turned to see who was there, I sprang forward and gripped his wrist. I can assure you it was no light grip. I wrenched, and his hand was jerked out of the pocket, grasping a Mauser automatic pistol, fully loaded. I hung on to him until my assistants arrived, and we bundled him into the left-luggage office, and bolted the door.

'On arrest the man spoke in good English, saying that he was not German but Swiss. We started to search through his brief-case and other belongings, and I fear that we became a little careless at this stage, having our man safe under lock and key—a state of mind police officers must guard against. Suddenly he drew from his pocket a knife, seemingly of the ordinary Boy Scout type with the kind of blade he could not have opened before we could deal with him; but this was no ordinary knife, and although they have since become commonplace, this was our first experience of a flick-knife. However, we were just in time to prevent him using the gleaming blade, and now we took him in an ambulance to Police Headquarters where he should have gone in the first place, and where he was stripped and searched in all likely places for false skin that might be concealing poison.

'In addition, keeping in mind a case of Professor Sir Sidney Smith's in which he had



Above: The left-luggage office at Waverley Station and, below, as it appears, bricked up, today. Bottom: The day after the arrest, Detective Superintendent Merrilees was photographed inside the luggage office in the uniform provided by porter Ferguson.





William Merrilees tells the editor all about it—outside his old HQ where Walti was questioned.

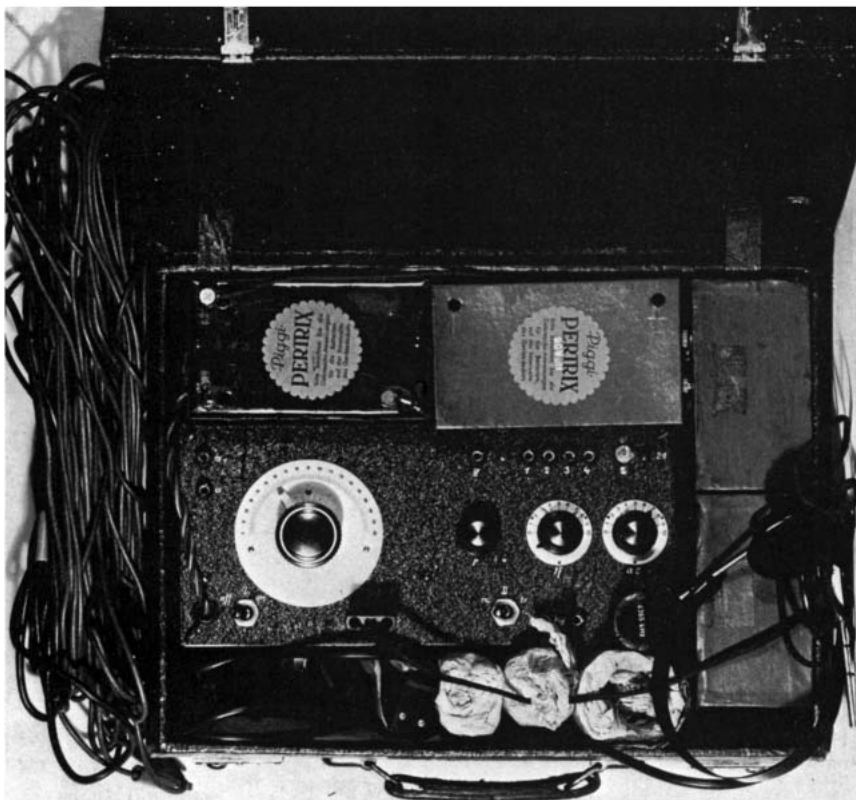
used sand from a little baby's body to locate the scene of the crime, I spread sheets of white paper on a desk, laid the suitcase upon them, put a clean pen-nib in a holder, and scraped out and collected every particle of sand in the rough exterior seams, sealing the grains in a test tube. This proved useful later.

'In the spy's possession were found ten maps, four of the Scottish east coast, and six of English areas from the Wash to Suffolk many of them marked at special points, including Buckie, Buchan Ness and Elgin. Also he had a wallet containing £190, a national registration card in the name of Werner Walti, with the address 23 Sussex Gardens, London, W.2, a traveller's food ration book, a Swiss passport issued at Zurich in 1938, a single railway ticket from Edinburgh to London dated that day, a book of graph paper bearing the name and address of an officer commanding the German Air Force in Norway, the automatic pistol already referred to, loaded with six rounds of ammunition, a box of twenty-five rounds of ammunition, the flick-knife mentioned, abbreviations for map signs in English and German printing, four small torch batteries, a white metal pencil containing coloured leads, three pencil erasers, a bakelite wireless dial, a bottle containing white tablets, a pocket compass and two apples. On a piece of paper he had a list of thirty-four airfields in the east of England. 'A wireless code also found in his possession was written in German.

'The prisoner, in custody, would eat no food, but kept asking for his apples. One of my officers was about to take one to him, when I stopped him and told him that if Walti must have an apple, the officer was to go out and buy one for him. On three other occasions he asked for his apples, so that I came to the conclusion that the fruit, which was quite wizened, might be doctored for suicide purposes.'

On October 1, Detective Inspector Alexander Sutherland escorted Petter to New Scotland Yard in London where he handed him over to Inspector F. Bridge of Special Branch. Petter denied knowing Karl Drugge or Vera Erikson, a story he stuck to throughout the M15 interrogations carried out by Lieutenant-Colonel Hinchley-Cooke. Statements were signed by the three agents in March 1941.

Both Drugge and Petter (referred to as Drucke and Walti) came up for trial, which was held in camera at the Old Bailey on June 12 and 13, Mr. Justice Asquith presiding. The Solicitor-General, Sir William Jowitt, led for the prosecution. When the various police officers arrived from Scotland to attend the



Above: The radio set was photographed by the Edinburgh Criminal Investigation Department before being sent to M15 in London. Its present location is unknown.



Above: The flick-knife Walti used in the fight and the 6.35mm Mauser pistol (similar to Drugge's but numbered 5458) were returned to Scotland after the trial and are now at the Police Headquarters of the Lothian and Borders Police in Edinburgh.

trial as witnesses, they were simply told that Vera Erikson would not be present in court.

The jury were only out for a few minutes before they returned with the verdict of guilty. An appeal was made against the sentence of death and this was heard, again in secret, by the Court of Criminal Appeal on July 21 and dismissed.

They were both held in Wandsworth prison until their double execution by Albert Pierrepoint and his assistant Steve Wade which took place on the gallows there on August 6.

The Walti/Drucke/Erikson case is fascinating, especially so as the undeniable leader of the group, Vera Erikson, was never brought to trial.

The fate of Vera Erikson (or Vera von

Stein) has never been officially disclosed. A clue was given by Lord Jowitt who, when writing his book 'Some were Spies' ten years later, stated: 'It was decided to take no proceedings against Madame Erikson. I have no doubt that she was detained here and it may be she was able to be of some use to our authorities.'

From enquiries made by the editor, it is certain she was never used as a double agent; in fact the public circumstances of her arrest and the execution of her colleagues would have precluded this. After the war, however, when Generaleutnant Lahousen was in a British internment camp at Bad Nenndorf near Hanover, he was interviewed by an unnamed British Colonel (Hinchley-Cooke?). Answering Lahousen's question, the Colonel was recorded as saying 'You're wondering



Above: the cardboard code disc and, below, the radio code book found in Walti's suitcase. The code reads in German qmx—wait until; qsa—0.5 strength; qrm—disturbance in sending; qrn—atmospherics and so on.



what happened to Vera, 'the Beautiful Spy' as we called her. Well, you're absolutely right. She came over to us. If you ever want to see her again, well, I should have a look around the Isle of Wight. I think you might find her there—with another name, of course, and nobody there has the slightest idea of her background.'

If Vera reads this story or sees the film we have made about her, the editor, after spending so long researching her story, would be thrilled to hear from her—wherever she now happens to be.

Chief Constable 'Wee Willie' Merrilees retired from the Lothians and Peebles force in 1968. In spite of being over age and too short, he had been accepted into the police force; so successful was he that when he reached retiring age, he was asked to continue for a further five years—until he was 70. He was the subject of one of the 'This is Your Life' TV programmes when the story of the Walti arrest was re-told by Eamonn Andrews and the porter, Thomas Ferguson, who supplied the uniform with which he disguised himself on Waverley Station, appeared. William Merrilees now runs two cottages for old people on the outskirts of Edinburgh.

Constable Robert Grieve, who was the first witness at the Old Bailey trial, remained in Portgordon until 1952 when he transferred to Rhynie in Aberdeenshire. He retired from the police force in September 1960.



The real spycatcher—Lieutenant-Colonel Hinchley-Cooke.

Inspector John Simpson served at Buckie for thirty years; he retired in 1957 and moved to Edinburgh.

The railway stations featured in the story were closed in May 1968 and the track was subsequently removed. Today the little wooden station at Portgordon still stands, derelict, blackened by fire, devoid of most of its fittings. One can still stand on the spot where Druggie purchased the tickets; where Vera spoke to the stationmaster (who has since died, as has the porter) as we did in September 1975, thirty-five years later.

The police station at Portgordon, really a converted house, was closed down in 1969. However, the wife of the present owner, Mrs. Reid, kindly allowed the editor to see the old cells and the office where Constable Grieve took his two prisoners. The outer entrance door has been bricked up and also the connecting door from the police office to the sitting room where Vera drank a cup of tea in 1940.

The station at Buckpool has been completely demolished, but that at Buckie, where Walti caught the train south, can still be seen. Although the windows are boarded up we were able to enter and walk inside the booking hall; even amongst the rubbish and rubble it was easy to imagine Walti waiting for his train.

The police station at Buckie moved to a new

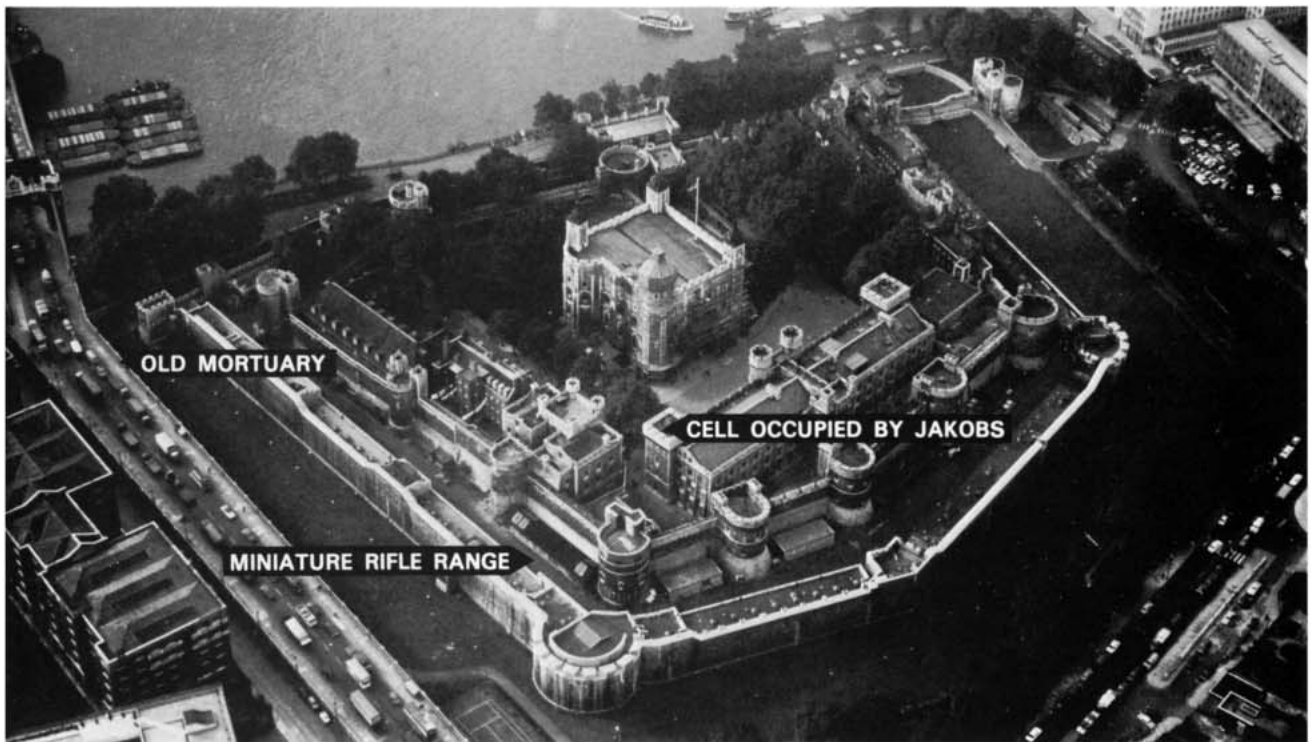
building in 1953. The old one is used as an electrical store by a local contractor and the cells are now stacked with washing machines and fuse-gear.

At Edinburgh, the old left-luggage office at Waverley Station has been closed and bricked up, but Mr. Merrilees came down to the station to show us how and where he apprehended Walti. His old CID office, although still occupied by the Edinburgh force, is now part of the police training centre.

In London the Royal Victorian Patriotic School at Wandsworth, directly opposite the prison where Walti and Drucke were executed, is now the Spencer Park Training College. When we visited the college, we were told that the internees had 'doctored' the grass area in front of the college (how is not difficult to guess), so that a huge swastika was visible when the new grass grew each Spring. Anxiously we waited during the winter of '74/75 for the approach of spring. Unknown to us the earth-movers were also waiting; when we revisited the college, we found that all the grass was gone and the whole area covered in tarmac. Goodness knows what those internees had been drinking!

The editor and his son in the dock—at last! Where the spies stood at their trials in the historic No. 1 Court at the Old Bailey.





6. JOSEF JAKOBS

APPREHENDED: January 31, 1941

Josef Jakobs, a German national, was born in Luxembourg on June 30, 1898. He was a Feldwebel or Sergeant in the German Army attached to the Meteorological Service. He was dropped by parachute on the night of January 31, 1941, landing in a field near Ramsey in Huntingdonshire.

Just after 7.30 a.m. the next morning, Charlie Baldock and his brother-in-law Harry Coulson were startled by a shot as they walked to their smallholding at Dove House Farm. After another shot was fired they saw a man lying in a potato field who was waving to catch their attention. When they reached him they could see that his leg had been badly broken on landing by parachute. While Harry Coulson remained with the man, Charlie ran to nearby Shelton's Farm (now Wistow Fen Farm) for help. The police were called and Jakobs was taken to Ramsey police station on the back of a horse and cart.

He was wearing civilian clothes underneath



The flat, fen country of Dove House farm where Jakobs landed. The original farmhouse, demolished in the 1950s, stood on the right.



The cell on the top floor of E Block of Waterloo Barracks in the Tower of London where Josef Jakobs awaited execution.

his flying suit and was found to be equipped with a wireless transmitter, a large sum of English currency, food, brandy and the now traditional German sausage. He also had a small hand spade for burying his parachute and flying kit. An identity card in the name of James Rymer was found in his possession, information for which had been given to the Germans by wireless by SNOW.

After interrogation he was lodged at Brixton Prison and, because he was in the German Armed Forces, the Secretary of State, ever mindful of detail even during war, made a special order converting the cell in which he was held into a military prison!

As his arrival had been witnessed by a number of people and his character was truculent, it was decided he could not be 'turned' and his General Courts-Martial took place on August 4 and 5, as usual in camera. A barrister-at-law who was a serving member in the British Forces and an interpreter were provided for his defence.

Found guilty, Jakobs was taken to the Tower of London and held in a cell on the top floor of Waterloo Barracks at the east end of E Block, in the custody of the Holding Battalion, the Scots Guards.

A priest, Father Josef Simmil of St. Boniface Church, Aldgate, a naturalised Briton, was made available, but Jakobs did not request to see him.

At breakfast roll call parade on Thursday, August 14, Major P. D. J. Waters, M.C., detailed an eight-man firing party. Later they marched to the old miniature rifle range where the First World War spies had met their deaths. Jakobs was seated in an ordinary brown Windsor chair (because of his broken leg), and a piece of white lint was placed on his heart as an aiming mark. At 12.12 p.m. the firing squad took aim and fired.

Jakobs' body was taken to the old mortuary which lies directly beneath the northern approach to Tower Bridge, where Sir Bernard Spilsbury carried out a post-mortem.

Being a military execution, Jakobs would not suffer the ignominy of a burial within prison walls, but until recently the end of the story was not known. Ever since 1962, when the editor first became interested in German spy activity during WWII, this execution carried out in the heart of London had intrigued him—perhaps because of the lack of detail about it.



The ordinary brown Windsor chair in which Jakobs met his death, given to the Tower collection in 1941 by the Holding Battalion, Scots Guards.

The official history of the Tower records that all the spies, including Jakobs, were buried at Brixton Prison. We had already ascertained that there are no burials at Brixton whatsoever.

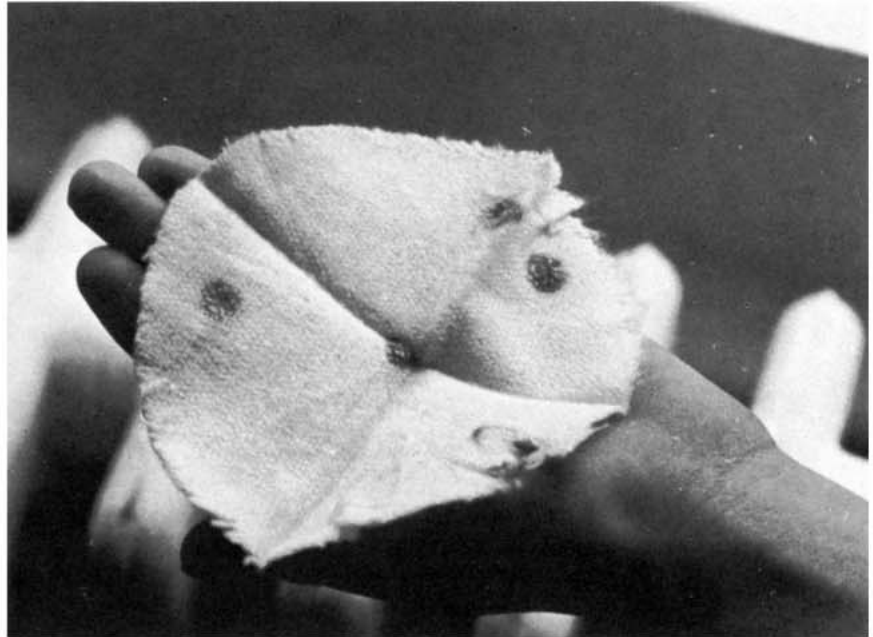
Jakobs was unknown to the German War Graves Commission when we contacted them, and ceaseless searching of those records available (the official Courts-Martial file is closed until the year 2042) failed to find where his body was buried.

As regular readers of *After the Battle* will know, the editor rarely gives up the quest and Jakobs was no exception. Finally, after writing scores of letters, including one to every cemetery in London, we traced his grave to St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery at Kensal Green—on the other side of London. Being buried in a common grave, No. 1734G, leads towards obscurity, and after several other burials in the same plot, we found the whole area had several feet of earth bulldozed over it to be levelled off to provide burial facilities for others. This was a disappointing end to our search as bulldozers were still at work when we reached the grave site—our photograph shows the editor standing on the position of plot 1734G but five or six feet above the old ground level.

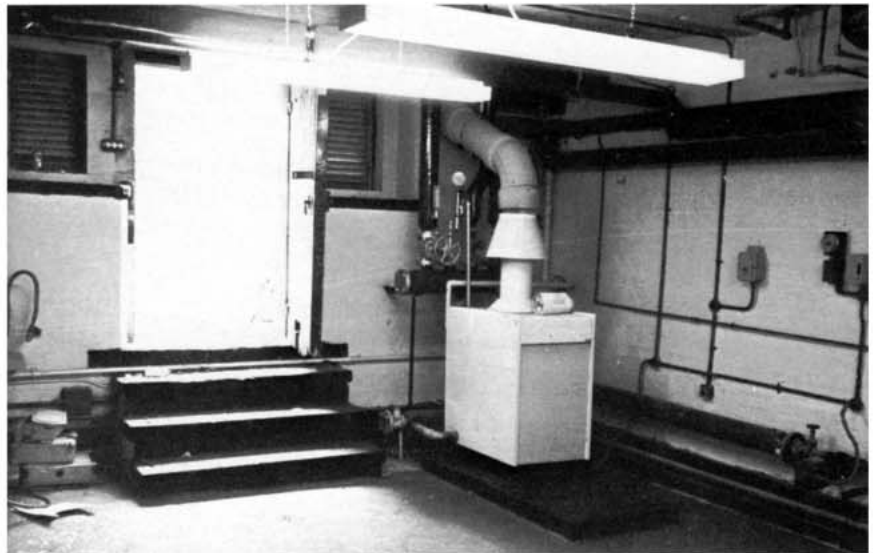
A statue from one of the graves on area G had been saved (there had been no stone marking Jakobs' grave), and all other stonework has been smashed up and cleared. Ironically the restoration of this statue was carried out by Ken Child, who was a member of Major Peter Young's No. 3 Commando in the Dieppe raid. The statue, with an appropriate plaque in the memory of all those buried in Plot G whose graves are now lost, is erected in the cemetery chapel.

When we visited the Tower of London in 1975 the Governor, Major-General Digby-Raeburn, very kindly showed the editor personally the old mortuary (now a boiler room) and the cells where Jakobs was kept the night before the execution (now used for storing film).

The chair in which Jakobs was shot is still preserved at the Tower, but we are told it probably will not go on display for a hundred years or so. We traced the white lint target (hit by five shots) to a file at the Scots Guards Headquarters in London. Major Waters retired from the Army in 1947 and died in 1949.



Above: The white lint target hit by five of the eight shots fired at Jakobs at his execution in the miniature range. Now filed at the Scots Guards' HQ.



Above: The old mortuary underneath the north approach road to Tower Bridge. Below: Bulldozers were still at work covering Plot G when we took our photo. The editor stands on the exact location of Jakob's grave, No. 1734G.







7. GEORGE JOHNSON ARMSTRONG

APPREHENDED: February 21, 1941

Armstrong, a British subject born in Newcastle, 39 years of age in 1941, was an engineer who for short periods during 1939-40 served at sea. He offered his services to the German Secret Service through a German consul in the U.S.A. On his subsequent return to Britain he was arrested on February 21, 1941. He was tried before Mr. Justice Lewis at the Old Bailey on May 8 and found guilty. An appeal was heard by the Court of Criminal Appeal on June 23 and dismissed. On July 10 he was hanged at Wandsworth Prison.

In order to present a complete list of all agents executed in Britain in WWII, brief details on Armstrong have been included as, although he was a British subject, he was executed for being a German spy.

8. KARL RICHTER

APPREHENDED: May 14, 1941

By the Spring of 1941 agent TATE was running out of funds. Only sufficient money had been provided to tide him over until the expected German invasion and when this failed to materialise he pleaded with the Germans for more cash.

By registered post from SNOW he received £100. The Germans then promised that a courier would arrive with more money from Germany. This was to be Karl Richter. On Tuesday, May 13, during the hours of darkness, he dropped by parachute near a wood in Tittenhanger Park by the A405 near London Colney. As well as £500 and a thousand American dollars, he carried a map of East Anglia, compass, wireless set and a loaded automatic. Under his overcoat he was wearing a civilian suit, three pairs of woollen pants and two pairs of socks.

Using a small shovel he buried his parachute and harness, and then hid in the nearby wood until about 10.00 p.m. the following evening. After leaving cover, he walked west along the A405. A quarter of an hour later, reaching the junction with the A6, he was stopped by a lorry driver who was unsure of the correct road to London (all signposts had been removed as part of the invasion precautions).

Richter grunted an incoherent reply and moved on. The lorry driver carried on along the A405, almost immediately spotting a police constable, Alec Scott. Renewing his request for directions, he mentioned the strange, unhelpful character just down the road.

When the lorry had gone on its way, Constable Scott, on his bicycle, followed the direction the stranger had taken and found him in a telephone box at the cross-roads. Richter was asked for his identity card—it was an alien's card of the correct colour. One condition on aliens' identity cards at that time was that the holder must return to the address printed on the card by 11.00 p.m. each evening. Scott, seeing a London address, and there remaining only thirty minutes before the deadline, asked Richter where he had come from. The reply was that he had walked from the coast and it had taken two hours! (For the information of our foreign readers, it would have taken twenty-four hours to cover the distance involved.) Constable Scott told the editor that he had a slight accent, mixing his Vs and Ws.

Richter then said he wanted a drink and Constable Scott escorted him the few yards to the end house, 'Kelvin', No. 375 High Street, opposite the telephone box. After knocking and receiving no reply, Richter then said he felt ill. Scott said he would telephone the hospital and they returned to the telephone box. Keeping one foot in the door to watch Richter, who waited outside the box, Scott



called his sub-station at Fleetville. Richter made no attempt to run off.

Shortly, Sergeant Palmer and Constable Clarke arrived in a car to collect Richter. On arrival at the Tess Road Police Station he was questioned.

Next morning he was transferred to Hatfield Police HQ and, after further questioning, agreed to accompany police officers to where he had buried his equipment, where he had marked a nearby tree with his initials (*which we couldn't find*) so he would remember the spot again.

He was then transferred to Cannon Row police station in London, charged and imprisoned at Wandsworth.

Meanwhile TATE had been warned of the imminent arrival of an agent with the money he had requested. A complicated series of meetings were arranged: first at the Regent Palace Hotel, then the Tate Gallery, then the British Museum; but the rendezvous was never kept. Richter, the one expected, could hardly be blamed for not keeping the appointment!

Richter's trial came before Mr. Justice Tucker at the Old Bailey on October 21 that year—it was announced that he had been born in Kraslice in Czechoslovakia on January 29, 1912, and was believed to be an Obersturmführer in the SS, and an adjutant to the Gauleiter of the Sudetenland, Konrad Henlein. The trial lasted four days and on October 24 he was found guilty and sentenced to death. He appealed against the sentence, but this was dismissed on November 24 by the Court of Criminal Appeal. He was returned to Wandsworth Prison to await his execution.

The execution was set for December 10,

Above: The area where Karl Richter landed. He buried his equipment in the wood on the right. Below: Ex-Constable Scott points out where the telephone box stood in which he arrested Richter.



1941. On the preceding afternoon Albert Pierrepoint, the hangman detailed to carry out the execution, arrived at the prison. As was the usual practice before executions, he was allowed to view the prisoner, without himself being seen. This was to assess Richter's physical characteristics—build, thickness of neck, etc., to be assessed together with his height and weight (given as six feet

A car park now occupies the site of the police station in Tess Road, where Richter was taken. Even the name of the road has changed today to Woodstock Road South.



two inches and fifteen stone four pounds respectively on his medical card), to calculate from a table of figures the precise length of rope required. (British execution is based on a variable drop from five to eight feet six inches to ensure instantaneous death by the dislocation of the second and third vertebrae, whereas American hanging, using the 'cowboy' knotted noose, is standardised on a five-foot drop.)

Richter was in the prison yard between two burly prison officers, his lips shut in a grim line, making no attempt at any sort of conversation.

After the drop was calculated, Pierrepont tested the trap doors on the scaffold. The rope, fitted with a metal eye instead of a knot, was selected from the two provided; was adjusted and a sack of sand hung overnight to stretch the rope to eliminate any tendency to whip.

As was normal practice, the hangman slept at the prison overnight. The following morning, Pierrepont, with his assistant, the Sheriff, Governor, doctor and warders were outside the condemned cell a few minutes before eight o'clock. Here a few words should be said about the lightning-fast procedure at a routine British execution for our readers to appreciate what happened in Richter's case.

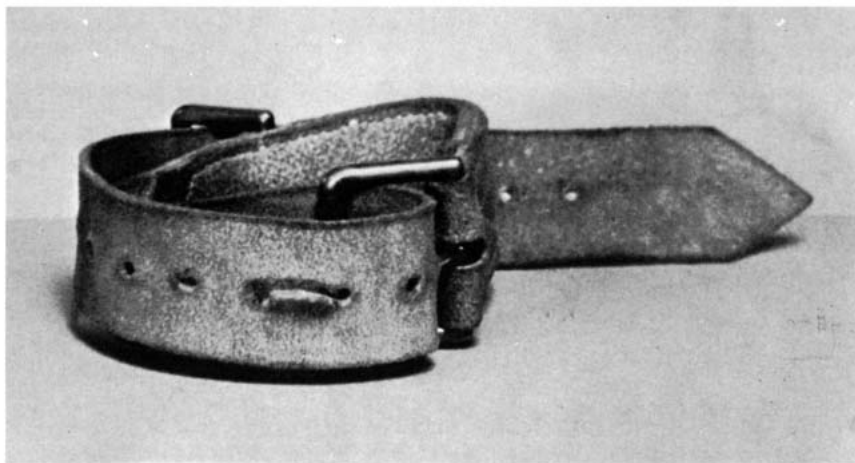
The executioner and his assistant would wait outside the condemned cell. At the signal to enter, given by the Sheriff, they would proceed into the cell. The executioner would then pinion the prisoner's arms behind his back, after which he was escorted through the communicating door to the execution chamber, the trap doors being level with the floor. The Sheriff, Governor and doctor entered directly by another door from the corridor. The prisoner was then placed on the drop on a chalk T mark lined up with the crack in the trap doors. The executioner then placed a white linen bag over the prisoner's head and the noose around his neck, while the assistant pinioned his legs. When the executioner saw that all was ready he pushed the lever. From the giving of the signal to the trap being opened, the time was *seven to twenty seconds*. Pierrepont has recorded that many times the clock was still striking eight after the trap doors had opened.

We now print Albert Pierrepont's own account of the execution of Richter, the only condemned prisoner in the hundreds he has executed, including other spies, to cause trouble. (This is reprinted with kind permission of his publishers, George G. Harrap, from 'Executioner Pierrepont'.)

'I was outside his cell on time next morning, and when the door swung open I got my first shock. Richter should have been sitting at the table with his back to me. It is usually arranged that the condemned man should be in this position, so that in three quick strides I can be behind him, tapping him on the shoulder and taking his arms to pinion his wrists behind his back as he stands up.

'But Richter was standing at the far side of the table, glowering at the open door. I had to walk all round the table to reach him. His face was working angrily. His eyes were staring, very blue and dangerous. His big fists were clenched. Before I could reach him he heaved away the nearest prison officer and dived like a bullock at the stone wall. His head cracked against the masonry.

'My first impression was quite irrelevant. It was the flurry of robes of the Catholic priest as he tried to get out of the way of the battle which followed. It may have been Richter's intention to stun himself so that he was hanged unconscious. I do not know. He stunned himself only for a moment. He lay like a log on the floor, then raised himself and shook his head. The two death-cell officers dived on top of him. He clawed and kicked them away. Two more officers rushed in from the corridor. There were five bodies thrashing



The strap which bound the hands of Karl Richter when he was hung at Wandsworth Prison on December 10, 1941 which clearly shows where he split the leather from one eyehole to another during the struggle (Harrap).

on the floor, and one of the men in blue was an accomplished judo expert.

'Someone gasped "Get your straps on him, Albert, for God's sake!" I was circling round the melee, waiting my chance to do this. I managed to engage one of his wrists. Then I brought the strap round the other. Officers were sitting on his legs and then they began to drag him to his feet. I turned to go through the cell into the execution chamber. It was not the sort of occasion when I would say sympathetically "Follow me, lad. It will be all right."

'Suddenly there was a shout from behind me: "Albert! Albert! Come back!" I turned and saw that Richter's arms were free and it was a free-for-all again. With his hands behind him he had strained on the pinioning strap around his wrists and split it from eyehole to eyehole. I would not have thought such strength was possible. I went back and got into the fray. Richter fought me, fought everybody. I managed to get a grip on the strap. Normally I had never put on the pinion very tight: I had found it was psychologically wrong to make the prisoner feel constricted, or angry because a buckle was nipping into his flesh, and that generally only the suggestion of restraint was enough, while for practical purposes the arms could not fly outwards anyway. This time I had no choice. I had to get the strap to fasten on an inside hole. I was strong, and I dug my knee into his back and pulled until the strap was secure in a second hole. Once more I started towards the scaffold.

'The Sheriff and the Governor and their party had been watching this struggle from the execution chamber. Richter was now brought to the scaffold. A strap was quickly fastened round his ankles, the cap and noose were adjusted, and still he fought for life. Just as I was crossing to the lever, he jumped with bound feet. The drop opened, and he plunged down, and I saw with horror that the noose was slipping. It would have come right up over his head had it not caught roughly at a point halfway up the hood—it had in fact been stopped on his upper lip by the projection of his nose—and the body jerked down, then became absolutely still apart from the swinging of the rope. I went down into the pit with the prison medical officer. He examined the body and said to me: 'A clean death. Instantaneous.' He sounded surprised, and I did not blame him. I was surprised myself, and very relieved. On my next visit to Wandsworth the Governor told me that the severance of the spinal cord had been perfect.'

The post-mortem was carried out by Sir Bernard Spilsbury and, during the dinner hour, Richter was buried in the prison garden graveyard.

Richter's is the only execution in Albert Pierrepont's autobiography in which he describes in detail the behaviour of an identifiable person about to be executed. At the request of the Home Office (the official body which employs the executioner), all names in the book were deleted, and in Richter's case, the name was changed to Otto Schmidt. However, the German is so easily identifiable as Karl Richter that they needn't really have bothered.

We interviewed ex-Police Constable Alec Scott, who came with us to the scene of the arrest of Richter. In view of the struggle he made in Wandsworth, it was surprising he submitted so meekly to a single unarmed policeman.

The road junction of the A6/A405 was altered some years ago and a roundabout constructed. During the alterations, the road was blocked off just past the end house 'Kelvin' and, unfortunately, the telephone box was removed.

Tess Road has now been renamed Woodstock Road South, and the police station demolished.

9. JOSE ESTELLE KEY

APPREHENDED: March 4, 1942

Key was born on July 1, 1908 in Gibraltar, a British subject. His function was to observe and record the movements of British forces, warships and aircraft in and around Gibraltar and report to the Germans. Key was arrested on March 4, 1942 under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939 and was found to have in his possession information ready for transmission to the Germans.

Brought to England, he was imprisoned at Wandsworth to await trial. This was held before Mr. Justice Humphreys on May 15 and 18. His conviction at the Central Criminal Court, the Old Bailey, was under the Treachery Act 1940 and his subsequent appeal, heard by Mr. Justice Tucker and Mr. Justice Asquith on June 22, was dismissed. He was executed at Wandsworth on July 7 together with Eugene Timmerman.

The arrest of Key in Gibraltar, the odd man out in this feature on spies in Britain, marked the beginning of a new phase in German spy activity. Previously the Germans had landed spies by sea and air—the so-called 'parachute agents'. As the fortunes of Germany turned in 1942, so did their methods of espionage. Thereafter, they resorted to infiltrating agents posing as refugees from the over-run countries allied to Britain.

10. ALPHONSE TIMMERMAN

APPREHENDED: April 1942

Timmerman was a Belgian, born in Ostend on August 1, 1904.

After the Germans occupied Belgium, he decided to make his way to England and join the Free Belgian Merchant Navy. He crossed France but when he reached Spain he was arrested and imprisoned in Barcelona. After several months, the Belgian Consul managed

to arrange for his release and he was sent to Lisbon, where the Belgian consulate there added his name to the lengthy list of refugees awaiting passage to England.

When he finally arrived on September 1, 1941, he was sent to the interrogation centre at the Royal Victoria Patriotic School.

He was assigned to a Belgian Security officer. This officer examining Timmerman's possessions found three incriminating objects: an envelope containing white powder, a bunch of orange sticks and a piece of cotton wool. To

the authorities this could only mean one thing—secret writing; Colonel Pinto claimed he was assigned to break Timmerman into confessing his guilt as, at first, he protested that he had been given the objects by a Spanish Communist in Barcelona jail.

Timmerman's trial took place on May 20, two days after Jose Key had been convicted. An appeal on his behalf was heard at the same time as Key's but was also dismissed, and he mounted the scaffold at Wandsworth for the double execution with Key on July 7, 1942.



Wandsworth Prison, scene of the execution of nine enemy agents during WWII.

11. JOHANNES MARINUS DRONKERS

APPREHENDED: May 18, 1942

Johannes Dronkers was born in Holland at Nigtevecht outside Amsterdam on April 3, 1896. There is one rather colourful account of how he was picked up in a small boat and convinced the authorities at Harwich that he was a refugee and was subsequently vetted by the Dutch authorities in London. The story then goes on that he asked to serve his country, agreed to broadcast to his countrymen on Radio Oranje and was unmasked attempting to pass a coded message over the air to the Germans. This story first appeared in the new defunct 'Reynolds News' on June 9, 1946. Although the story has since been repeated in several accounts, research by the editor has found it has no basis in fact and we have it on good authority that it is no more than a good Sunday newspaper story.

Dronkers was picked up with two other Dutchmen from a small yacht on May 18, 1942. Following standard procedure they were first questioned by RAF Intelligence in order to obtain any up to date information which might be useful for immediate action by Bomber and Fighter Commands. While two of the Dutchmen seemed sane enough, the third, Dronkers appeared to be a lunatic — or, at least, so hysterical with joy at escaping to safety that no sense could be got out of him.

He appeared before Mr. Justice Wrottesley at the Old Bailey on the 13th, 16th and 17th of November, 1942. He appealed against the death sentence on December 14 but this was rejected by the Lord Chief Justice and on New

Year's Eve, 1942 he was hanged in Wandsworth Prison.

The Dronkers case has, over the years, been reported in two completely conflicting ways: one, that he tried to broadcast on Radio Oranje; the other that he never regained his freedom once he landed at Harwich.

Colonel Pinto claimed to have been the one to have broken Dronkers' cover story. He says the Dutchman told a long rambling story of being a black marketeer and attempting to escape from the Gestapo. When Pinto said he didn't believe his story, Dronkers threatened to write to the British Authorities to let them know they were harbouring a Himmler! Pinto said that Dronkers did later write letters to Queen Wilhelmina, George VI and Winston Churchill, none of which ever left the prison!

Colonel Pinto described how he spent the next twelve days alternately questioning Dronkers and examining minutely all his possessions. Last to be examined was a bulky copy of Kramer's Dutch-English dictionary. Scrutinising a page at a time, on page 432 a tiny pinprick was found under a capital letter 'F'. Confident he had at last the evidence to smash Dronkers' protests of innocence, Pinto searched for the other pinpricks which he was convinced would spell out a message. The two addresses he deciphered (to which Dronkers was to have sent information) were: Froeken Annete Yschale, Grevmagnigatan 13-V, Stockholm. The other in Lisbon read Fernando Laurero, Rua Souza Martin.

As a last resort, we tried to get at the true facts through Mr. Justice Wrottesley, the judge at the trial, but discovered that he died in 1948. The editor welcomes any further information from our readers.

12. FRANCISCUS JOHANNES WINTER

APPREHENDED: July 31, 1942

Winter, a Belgian subject born at Antwerp on January 17, 1903, was a steward in the merchant marine service. Contacting the British authorities in Spain, he said that he was a Belgian refugee and he was helped to reach the United Kingdom. On July 31, 1942 he arrived in England aboard a British ship. The story he told the authorities was that he had escaped from Belgium and had made his way across France into Spain where he had been imprisoned. After he had been released he had contacted the British Authorities. He said he was anxious to offer his services in any capacity that would assist the Allied war effort. In his possession there was about £100 in British, American, French, Belgian and Spanish currencies.

His story was not believed by the interrogation officials and he was subjected to further questioning by British Counter Intelligence. Repeating his wish to serve the Allies, he said he would like to join the Free Belgian forces or, preferably, obtain employment at sea in a Belgian ship.

Winter persisted in his story but it was not accepted as genuine and finally he admitted that he had told a pack of lies. In his statement he admitted he had been sent by the German Abwehr to report on the movements of convoys in which he sailed, and also that the Germans had given him training in the preparation and use of secret ink and that they had given him an address in a neutral country to which to send his reports.

Mr. Justice Humphreys presided at the trial held on December 4 at the Old Bailey. Sentenced to death, his appeal against the

sentence to Mr. Justice Tucker and Mr. Justice Cassels was dismissed on January 11, 1943 and fifteen days later on January 26 he was hung at Wandsworth.

13. DUNCAN CROALL SCOTT-FORD

APPREHENDED: August 19, 1942

Duncan Scott-Ford seems to have been a pathetic case of a British sailor boy, 21 years of age, being blackmailed by the German secret service into working for them.

He was born on September 4, 1921 and came from a respectable family in Plymouth, and, when war broke out, was working in the British Merchant Navy on more or less regular trips to Lisbon.

His downfall seems due to one of the many 'hostesses' employed by the Germans in that neutral port, to make themselves agreeable to sailors trying to forget the hazardous journeys through mine and U-boat infested waters. It seems that with wine in his head and a beautiful girl beside him, he was given 1,800 escudos (about £20) from an affable stranger in return for information about British shipping movements.

Having taken the money he was committed and when he returned to Lisbon on his next trip the stranger, a German agent, was waiting, but the girl was no longer interested. With the threat that the German would expose him as having taken German money in return for information, Scott-Ford attempted to obtain information in pubs in Portsmouth and Southampton.

Three further trips to Lisbon took place. Each time Scott-Ford gave what information he could find (including details about his own ship), but when he asked for his reward, the German only laughed at him.

On his return to England, on August 19, 1942, he was arrested and he admitted seeing German agents in Lisbon and giving information to them. Notes were found on him giving the names and positions of ships, with their escorts. Details of the convoy with which he returned to England, including particulars of the speed, course, distance travelled, a log of the voyage and a description of the weather and aircraft protection provided, were included.

He was sent for trial at the Old Bailey on October 16. Scott-Ford, a wretched, desperate figure in the dock, made a complete confession to Mr. Justice Birkett, and it seems he was truly sorry for what he had done. Faced, however, with the requirements of the 1940 Treachery Act, after the jury found him guilty, the judge had no alternative but to pronounce the sentence of death. On November 3, 1942, he took his place on the scaffold at Wandsworth.

Scott-Ford and Armstrong were the only British subjects to be executed for espionage during the war. Scott-Ford seems to have been genuinely sorry for his conduct—uniquely, he was the only convicted agent not to appeal against the sentence of death.

14. OSWALD JOHN JOB

APPREHENDED: November 1, 1943

In our story on the unsuccessful German agents, Oswald Job managed to evade arrest by the authorities the longest.

Born of German parents at 4 Chadbourne Street, Stepney (not a mile from the editor's office) on July 4, 1885, he was educated at an English Public School and in 1911 went to live in Paris. When France was overrun in 1940, as with anyone holding a British passport, he was interned by the Germans, being held at several camps, the last being St. Denis.

It is then believed that Himmler, greatly dissatisfied with Admiral Canaris' British espionage achievements so far, asked SS General Sachs to reorganise the despatch of

spies to Britain. Sachs was therefore looking for men who could be sent to Britain without arousing immediate suspicions and after much searching Job, with his British credentials, was discovered. Job had already become friendly with the German guards and when approached by the SS, emphasised that he had always been a friend of Germany.

His emaciated appearance, after his stay in the internment camp, added realism to his story when he arrived at the British Embassy at Madrid. He said he had escaped from the camp at Paris and made contact with members of the French resistance, who helped him to Spain, where posing as a Frenchman, he was able to reach Madrid. The story he did not tell was that the German secret service had taken him to the Spanish border and from there Spanish Falangists, working with the Germans, helped him to Madrid.

However, his story was checked, and by sheer coincidence one of the Embassy officials had been to the same public school, an amazing stroke of luck! A British official took him to Lisbon and from there he was put on an aircraft to England.

After a further vetting he was released and with a small Assistance Board allowance, rented a room in Bayswater. His instructions from his German masters were to report on bomb damage and invasion preparations. This information was to be sent in letters, quite innocent, friendly letters, to his former associates in the internment camp at St. Denis. The actual information would be written between the lines in secret ink to avoid British Postal Censorship, and he was to send them, not only in his own name but in those of relatives on the internees list.

Soon the ever watchful British Security Service discovered that a strangely frequent flow of mail was being sent through the Red Cross to a comparatively small number of similar addresses in St. Denis. Relatives were interviewed and declared that the letters were not written by them.

The trail led back to Job and he was visited by the Special Branch. They searched his room, much to his indignation, but found nothing. The detectives were just leaving when one asked why Job had such a large number of

keys when he only had a one room flat and no luggage.

This was the beginning of the end. Job was taken with the keys to Scotland Yard on November 1, 1943. There, the keys were examined and the secret was out. It was found that the collars of five keys unscrewed and the hollow stems contained a secret writing chemical. The ends of the keys could also be used for pens.

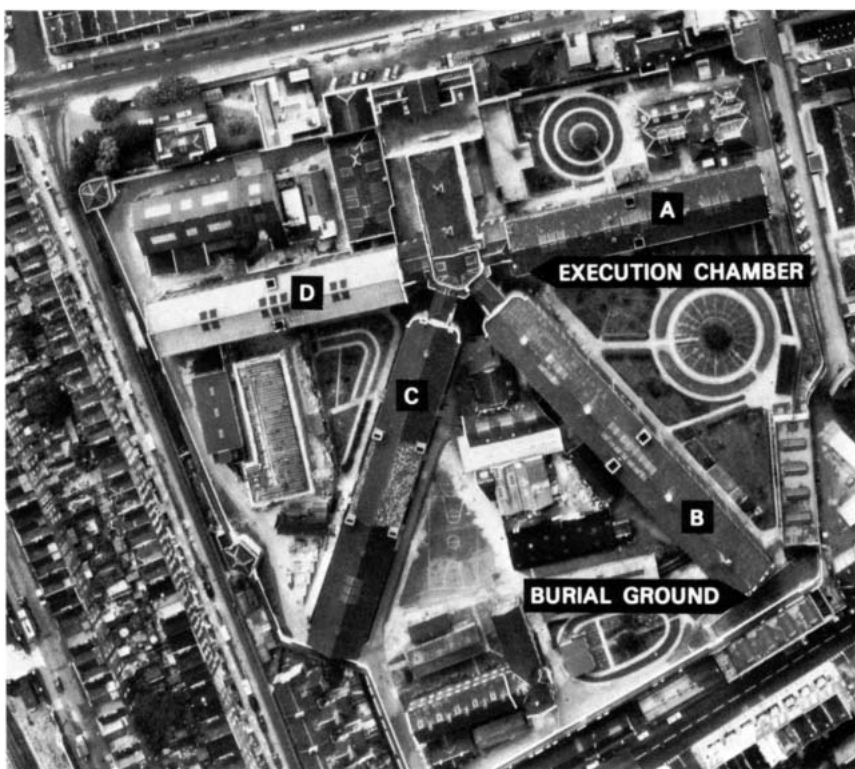
Even when the Scotland Yard laboratory experts managed to make the secret writing visible by an elaborate process of developing, cypher experts had to be called in to break the code Job had used.

At his trial at the Old Bailey on January 24, 25 and 26, 1944 his defence was that he had accepted the German offer as a means of escaping from France and that he had no intention of spying against England. He could not, of course, explain why he continued working for the Germans after he reached this country. The jury found him guilty and when passing sentence, Mr. Justice Stable said that 'the jury had reached their verdict on what, in his judgement, was the clearest possible evidence'.

His appeal on February 28 was dismissed and Job was hanged at Pentonville on March 16, 1944.

We now know that Oswald Job was exposed by one of the Twenty Committee's double-cross agents DRAGONFLY. This agent had been born in London of German parents and had a German wife. From 1923 he lived in Germany, but in August 1939 suddenly left his flat in Cologne and went to Holland. He had already had some contact with the German Secret Service and when he escaped from Holland, just before the German invasion in May 1940, he approached the British authorities. M15 sent him to Lisbon in November 1940 and he returned to England the following January with money and a wireless set provided by the Abwehr. Under the auspices of the Double-cross Committee, he set up his wireless and transmitted false information to the Germans until January 1944. Replies from the Germans led him to be able to pinpoint Job who was arrested in November 1943.

Six German spies were hung in the green-painted execution chamber at Pentonville.



15. PIERRE RICHARD NEUKERMANS

APPREHENDED: February 2, 1944

Although Neukermans was arrested in secrecy on February 2, 1944, by the time he was hanged at Pentonville in June, the British Security Service must have thought that they could safely give a little more detail in the official Home Office statement which was issued after each execution. Admittedly he was the first spy executed after D-Day and with the invasion hurdle crossed successfully, this may have had something to do with the slight relaxation in the official statements. On the other hand, the real intention may have been to make sure the Germans knew that 'Louis' and 'Georges' had been exposed. We are therefore reproducing this exactly as it appeared:

DATED: JUNE 24, 1944

The Home Office announces that a German Secret Service agent was executed at Pentonville Prison yesterday morning. He was Pierre Richard Charles Neukermans, a Belgian subject, born at Waarbeeke, Belgium, on May 1st, 1916.

He was convicted under the Treachery Act, 1940, after a trial before Mr. Justice MacNaughten and a jury at the Central Criminal Court on April 28th and May 1st this year, and was sentenced to death. His appeal to the Court of Criminal Appeal was heard by the Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Oliver, and Mr. Justice Birkett on June 8th, and was dismissed. Neukermans was represented by counsel both at the trial and at the Court of Criminal Appeal. The proceeding in both courts were held in camera.

Neukermans was sent by the German Secret Service to get information about military matters and conditions in England. He was a former regular officer in the Belgian Army, but was invalided out in 1938. When Belgium was overrun in 1940 he tried to cross into France, but finding the frontier closed he returned to Brussels, and assisted in his father-in-law's business.

After his return to Belgium, he was approached by the German Secret Service when

he had a long period of training in sabotage, wireless transmission, and secret writing he was put across the Franco-Spanish frontier by German Secret Service agents, and came to this country by way of Lisbon in the guise of a loyal Belgian subject who had escaped the Nazi oppression and wished to help the Allied cause.

He arrived here by air from Lisbon on July 16, 1943, and gave an account of his experiences while in Belgium and of his escape to the Peninsula. He claimed to have made two attempts to escape from Belgium. On the first occasion he had been assisted by a certain 'Louis' who, in conjunction with a man called 'Georges', had arranged his journey to Paris. He also gave a circumstantial account of his final and this time successful journey to Spain. Neukermans was given leave to land in this country, and being medically unfit for the Belgian Army, he obtained employment as a clerk in one of the Belgium Government offices here.

A few months later (six months in fact, he was arrested on February 2, 1944) he was detained and questioned again. He then admitted that he was a German Agent. 'Louis', who had facilitated his first attempted 'escape' from Belgium, is in fact none other than Louis Debray, of Rue Theodore Verhaegen, Brussels, well-known servant of the German S.S., who, in the guise of a patriot seeking to assist refugees from occupied Belgium and France, specializes in the penetration of loyal organisations in those countries and uses them to pass German agents such as Neukermans out of occupied territory. 'Georges', who had also assisted the escape, is a man who, under the names of Georges Hollevoet, does work on behalf of the German Secret Service similar to that done by Louis Debray. Neukermans admitted that in helping him out of Belgium into France 'Louis' and 'Georges' were in fact acting as agents for Neukermans' spy masters in Brussels.

Neukermans also admitted that after his arrival in this country he wrote letters containing secret writing to a cover address, in a neutral country which had been supplied to

him by the German Secret Service. In these letters he gave information about the location of Belgium troops in this country, the approximate dates of departure of convoys for the Belgian Congo and elsewhere, and the general conditions here.

16. JOSEPH JAN VANHOVE

APPREHENDED: February 11, 1944

Vanhov was executed at Pentonville on July 12, 1944, the last German agent to be executed in World War II.

His traitorous activities had begun early in the war when his black market activities came to the notice of the Belgian police. Forced to flee from Belgium he made contact with an acquaintance he knew was working for the Germans.

As a result Vanhov also obtained work which involved spying on French and Belgian workmen at German airfields in northern France, and reporting on resistance activities by the workmen.

In the middle of 1942 he contacted a representative of the German secret service and after receiving a course of instruction in secret writing, he was sent off by the Abwehr to leave the Continent via Switzerland, together with another agent.

The attempt proved a failure and he returned to Belgium where the Germans told him to try again from Sweden, with instructions to get information on the invasion of the Continent by the Allies. After being supplied with secret writing materials and cover addresses, he was signed-on a German ship bound for Sweden. Deserting the ship, he contacted the British Authorities in Sweden saying he was anxious to join the Allied forces.

The officials pretended to believe him and granted his request; he was sent to England only to be arrested as soon as he landed on February 11, 1944. Undoubtedly the cover addresses were those used by German agents working the double-cross system for the British.

His trial preceded that of Neukermans and was held at the Old Bailey on May 23 and 24. His appeal was dismissed on June 27.

(Printed by authority of the Registrar General.)

CERTIFIED COPY of an ENTRY OF DEATH Pursuant to the Births and Deaths Registration Act 1953

HB 908668

D. Cert.
S.R.

The fee for this certificate is 50p

Registration District CAMBRIDGESHIRE								
1941 Death in the Sub-district of Cambridge in the County of Cambridge								
Columns—	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
No.	When and where died	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Occupation	Cause of death	Signature, description, and residence of informant	When registered
395	First April 1941 Air Raid Shelter Christ's Pieces U.D.	Jan Willem Ter Braak	Male	27 years	of no fixed abode Rank or Profession unknown	Suicide by shooting himself through the head with a revolver causing haemorrhage and laceration of brain	Certificate received from Walter R. Wallis Coroner for the Borough of Cambridge Inquest held 3rd April 1941	Eighth April 1941
								Arthur Leverington Registrar.

Certified to be a true copy of an entry in a register in my custody.

Russell L. Butler

Deputy Superintendent Registrar.

20th November 1974 Date.

CAUTION:—Any person who (1) falsifies any of the particulars on this certificate, or (2) uses a falsified certificate as true, knowing it to be false, is liable to prosecution.

Jan Willem Ter Braak

These then were the unlucky sixteen—unlucky perhaps not to qualify under the 'rules' for double agents and save their lives.

However, this account would not be complete without recounting the story of possibly the one German agent to escape both

capture and execution — Jan Willem Ter Braak. Because of the circumstances of his death, probably the whole story will never be known — only as much as we have discovered can be told.

In the autumn of 1940, at a conference in Berlin, Himmler had given an order to SS General Walter Schreckenbach for the 'liquidation' of Winston Churchill. Such a mission must have been expected and there is

evidence to think that the British Security Service knew of the meeting and what had been said. It is believed that Jan Ter Braak had been given that mission when he came to Britain. The date of his entry is unknown although, as the user of a German parachute found in a field near Amersham, Buckinghamshire on October 3 was not traced, it is assumed it was Ter Braak's.

Jan Ter Braak took lodgings in Cambridge



and for several months tried to merge into the background. Posing as a Dutch refugee, a learned scientist who had come to England soon after the German invasion of Holland, his passport and papers confirmed his cover. He paid several visits to London during the winter months of the 1940-41 blitz and when he arrived from Cambridge at Liverpool Street station, a discreet tail was put on him. The scientist, who was supposed to be writing a paper on fossils, was showing an astonishing interest in the environs of Whitehall, especially the approaches to the Cabinet War Rooms (*see After the Battle No. 1*).

Security Service suspicions were aroused when it was seen he had a great interest in Winston Churchill's movements and on other occasions was followed to war factories which the British Prime Minister was visiting.

Ter Braak's lodgings, searched by the Security Service whilst he was out, contained a wireless transmitter, detonators, a Luger pistol, a file on Mr. Churchill's movements and three crudely forged Dutch passports. Coded notes revealed that one of his tasks was to assassinate Allied war leaders as the opportunity arose.

The Security Service men decided to wait but Ter Braak did not return; perhaps — in some way — he suspected a trap.

Whatever the reason, on All Fools Day, April 1, 1941, Mrs. Alice Stutley, Air Raid Shelter Marshal for her area, was walking her dog on an open park in the centre of Cambridge called Christ's Pieces. Six air raid shelters then stood in the centre of the park and at about 9.00 a.m. as she approached them, a small boy came up and told her there was a dead man in the second shelter.

Being April Fools Day she didn't believe him, (to explain to our foreign readers, on April 1 in Britain, practical jokes are made and if caught, one is called an 'April Fool'), but he was so persistent, she agreed to look. She found the body of a man, dressed in a dark overcoat, horn-rim glasses and black homburg hat, wedged tightly underneath one of the fixed slatted seats. She could see no pistol but it was evident that he had been shot in the head.

She called a policeman who again in turn refused to believe her story on April Fools Day. When he finally agreed, Mrs. Stutley showed him the body.

Mrs. Stutley then had to go to work. Shortly after she returned home in the evening there was a knock on her door. Answering it, two

Roger Bell strayed from his more usual stamping ground of the battlefields of Europe to photograph the site of the air raid shelter on Christ's Pieces in November 1974.

men stood on the doorstep whilst two others remained in a large black car at the end of her lane in King Street, about twenty yards away.

Without showing any identity they asked if she was the one that had found the body. When she said she was they warned her in no uncertain terms to keep it to herself and not to say a word to anybody.

The next day copies of the Cambridge News containing details of the discovery, were withdrawn after an urgent call from the Ministry of Information, the official body dealing with censorship.

We have reproduced the death certificate issued after the coroner's inquest on April 3, which gives the cause of death as suicide. When we traced Mrs. Stutley, in November 1974, she said we were the first people ever to have asked her about it and was most interested and helpful. She knew his name was Ter Braak and also that he was a German spy; this, it seems, is common knowledge amongst the older residents of the area.



Mrs. Stutley, still living in the same house only yards from the site of the air raid shelter, tells her story to our ETO expert.

The Coroner who examined the case, Mr. Walter Wallis, died in 1959 and from enquiries that we made, we found that all his papers have been destroyed. We searched the records at every Cambridge cemetery looking for the entry noting Ter Braak's burial but could find no trace. Once again we seemed to be up against a blank wall, which the passage of thirty years and fading memories did nothing to help.

That is, until we traced Mr. John O'Hannan, a funeral director in Cambridge during the war—the man that buried Ter Braak. It was just prior to Christmas 1974 that the editor went to see Mr. O'Hannan, 76 years old, in poor health for some time, and nearly blind. This is what he told us.

On the morning of April 1, 1941 he received a telephone call from the Cambridge police and was told that a man had been found dead in an air raid shelter. He was asked to come and remove the body but not to mention a word about it (a silence he had kept until we spoke to him).

Reaching Christ's Pieces, he was asked by the police to back his van up to the shelter which he did from Pikes Walk. The Chief Constable, Mr. R. J. Pearson and the Coroner's officer lifted the body into Mr. O'Hannan's shell coffin used to transport bodies.

The mortuary at the time was situated in Mill Road (now used as a maternity hospital) and Ter Braak was placed in the small end room which could be locked, rather than the main room.

As Mr. O'Hannan undressed the body with the help of his assistant he was surprised to find Ter Braak was wearing two pairs of trousers. They removed these together with his coat and waistcoat and laid out the body.

When he returned home Mr. O'Hannan was surrounded by reporters (he believes the mortuary attendant at Mill Road gave the story away although he had retained the key to the small room to stop anyone entering.). However, Mr. O'Hannan kept his silence and denied any knowledge of the body.

The Chief Constable had told him that when the Coroner's certificate was issued he was to bury Ter Braak in an unknown grave.

On the day the certificate was obtained he was called to another suicide death at nearby Maddingly. As reporters were still pestering for



The mortuary in Mill Road Cambridge where Ter Braak's body was first taken. It was locked in the left-hand room by Mr. O'Hannan away from the prying reporters. The room is now used as a workshop. Below: The unmarked grave at Great Shelford cemetery.

information, Mr. O'Hannan decided to switch the body of the woman who had committed suicide with that of Ter Braak. The switch passed unnoticed and Ter Braak was taken to Mr. O'Hannan's funeral parlour at 203 High Street, Chesterton (since demolished) and placed in the back room.

However, within an hour reporters had discovered the switch of bodies and arrived at Chesterton, but Mr. O'Hannan again denied any knowledge. He had already been to Great Shelford, three miles to the south of Cambridge, to see the vicar, the Reverend F. W. Jeeves of St. Mary's Church and the parish clerk. Mr. O'Hannan told them he had the body of a student who had been killed on a motor cycle and whose parents had disowned him. He explained that he wanted a quiet funeral as nobody would be attending. He paid a fee of £3.0.6 to the clerk.

At 9.00 a.m. on April 7, Ter Braak was

buried, attended only by the Vicar, the gravedigger, Mr. Duisly the clerk and Mr. O'Hannan.

No official mention was ever made of Ter Braak being a German spy. We found that Reverend Jeeves had since died and when we spoke to the present vicar at St. Mary's, Reverend Hale, he knew nothing of it and had no entry in his records. Until we traced Mr. O'Hannan, the grave could have been lost for ever. Mr. O'Hannan was, in fact, too blind to show us where it was. The grave remains unmarked to the present day when we photographed it with the Parish Clerk, Mr. P. E. Holdrup, in January 1975. We found the entry in the Register of Public Graves recording that £3.0s.6d. was paid for Grave 154.

Following our visit to the grave and through other enquiries we had made, the story ap-

peared in the Cambridge Evening News on January 30. A brisk correspondence of readers' letters giving their own experiences added significantly to what we had found out.

Although Ter Braak's passport gave his address as 7 Oxford Street, Cambridge (should be Oxford Road) he first stayed at 58 Barnabas Road, according to Mr. Alfred Sennitt whose parents lodged Ter Braak. He then moved to Montague Road where he stayed with Miss Rosina Greenwood who took in lodgers to help pay her rent. All this time he rented an office in Rose Crescent and two people wrote claiming to have remembered a tapping noise coming from the office. Another story claimed he had come to blackmail people living in England into co-operating with the enemy and one person on Ter Braak's list was Professor of Law at Clare College, Kurt Lipstein, who had left relatives behind in Germany when he came to England in 1936.

The most significant of all the newspaper articles and letters appeared on February 25 and gives good credibility to the fact that Ter Braak was in touch with Germany by radio and was guiding German aircraft on to military targets in the area. A Mr. Patmore of Sawbridgeworth wrote to categorically state that Army Intelligence knew that signals were being given during raids and troop movements in the Cherry Hinton area (part of Cambridge). And on February 24, 1941, 30 Dornier 17s raided the town just as a number of tanks were being unloaded in the Cambridge marshalling yards. Records show that 28 high explosive bombs were dropped between the alert at 8.30 p.m. (Cambridge's 104th) and 11.30 p.m. Eleven people killed during the raid are remembered on a plaque on St. Paul's Church Tower. Mr. R. A. Miller remembered hearing the soldiers moving the tanks complaining that every time they loaded or unloaded tanks the German air force launched an attack.

Sir John Masterman did not believe Ter Braak had contacted the Germans; certainly he says he could have been the only agent to elude capture and believed he killed himself when his stock of money ran out. He speculates on how much better use he could have been had he fallen into the hands of the Twenty Committee!



AFTER THE BATTLE

IT HAPPENED HERE

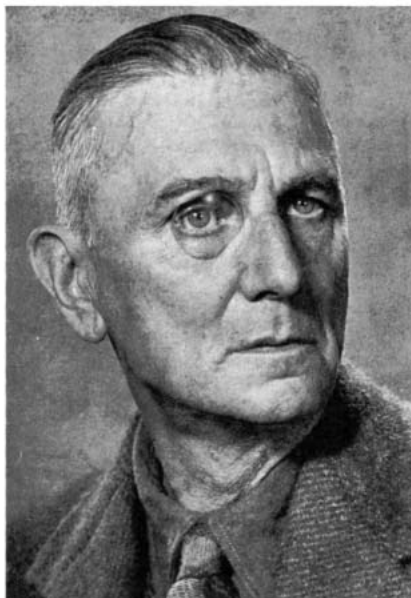
The Venlo Incident

At the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939, the British Intelligence Service had reliable information that there existed in Germany a secret military conspiracy against Hitler. Once war had been declared it was essential that contact be made with the opposition to find out if there was any hope of developing the liaison to bring about a quick ending of the war.

Captain S. Payne Best, a British Intelligence Officer, resident in Holland, controlling a British undercover ring known as 'Z' (later MI6), was detailed to investigate the possibilities. The Germans, on the other hand, dealing through an intermediary Dr. Franz, wanted to be sure that if they appeared at a meeting, they would be dealing directly with a responsible British officer.

Captain Best's first meeting with Dr. Franz and a Luftwaffe Officer Major Solms, was held in neutral Holland, in a small hotel in Venlo, at the beginning of September 1939. A second meeting was held again in the same hotel. It was learnt that a German General was anxious to make contact with the British but needed to be convinced that Captain Best really was a British agent. Captain Best was asked to prove his bona-fides by arranging to have a certain news item broadcast by the German Service of the BBC. This was duly transmitted on October 11 and, reassured, the Germans requested a third rendezvous in Zutphen on October 20.

By now it was evident that more help with the negotiations was needed and a British Intelligence officer, Major R. H. Stevens, who, under the guise of the British Legation's Passport Officer in The Hague, controlled another network of spies in Holland and Germany, was instructed to assist Best and incorporate 'Z' into his own organisation. Then, in order to facilitate further secret meetings in Holland, the Dutch Military Intelligence provided Lieutenant Dirk Klop, equipped with the necessary permits, to



The monocled Captain Best, a British Intelligence Officer in Holland, photographed in the late 1940s.



Major Richard Stevens had served in the Indian Army before being appointed to run British MI6 agents in Holland.



Above: The Backus cafe, just yards inside Dutch territory, used by Major Stevens as a rendezvous with Gruppenfuhrer Walter Schellenberg who was disguised as a 'Major Schaemmel'.



enable the party to pass through the various road-blocks which were numerous in the border area.

After the Germans had been met at the border at Dinxperlo and brought to Zutphen, Captain Best arranged that talks be carried out in the privacy of a friend's house at Arnhem, some ten miles away. However the Dutch gendarmerie became suspicious and surrounded the house and it was only by the efforts of Lieutenant Klop that the police were persuaded not to raid the building.

Major Stevens did not want a repetition of the fiasco at Arnhem and for the next meeting on October 30, arranged for Lieutenant Klop to bring the Germans to The Hague. When the three Germans arrived, they were introduced as Lieutenant Grosch, Colonel Martini and Major Schaemmel. It appears from Captain Best's own account of the affair that they did not recognise Major Schaemmel as SS Gruppenfuhrer Walter Schellenberg (who later displaced Admiral Canaris as head

of the Abwehr, the German Secret Service), but as both Major Stevens and Captain Best are now dead, confirmation cannot be obtained on this point.

We do now know that Heinrich Himmler, Chief of the SS and Gestapo, had been attempting all along to find out through the British, the identity of the real German plotters. One of his up and coming officers at Dusseldorf, Walter Schellenberg, had been instructed to make contact with British Intelligence and had successfully done so using the name of a real, living, major.

To facilitate communication in the future, Major Stevens gave Major Schaemmel a British secret radio transmitter. Using this, arrangements were made for the next meeting to be held at the original rendezvous—the hotel at Venlo, as the nearby customs post, Herongerweg Zoll, was more suitable for an unobtrusive border crossing than Dinxperlo.

However when Lieutenant Klop met the Germans at the frontier, they said they were

frightened of venturing too far over the border. Lieutenant Klop telephoned the message to Major Stevens and Captain Best, waiting five miles away at Venlo, and suggested they come out to the frontier where a convenient cafe, The Cafe Backus, a few yards inside Holland, would make an acceptable meeting place to the Germans. (Captain Best describes it as being 200 yards from the border; we were assured when we visited the cafe that it had not been moved and is still, as it was then, only five yards over the frontier!).

A fifth meeting was arranged for the following afternoon, Wednesday, November 8, the Germans promising that the German General, leading the plotters, would attend. However when Major Stevens and Captain Best arrived at the cafe they were met again by 'Major Schaemmel'. He apologised that the General had been held up in Munich and could not reach Holland before 4.00 p.m. the next day.



MUNICH

That same evening 300 miles away in Munich, Adolf Hitler was at the yearly reunion of the 'old guard' commemorating the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch. It had been Hitler's custom in former years to linger over beers and reminisce with his old comrades after making his speech. However this November, as soon as he finished speaking, he promptly left the Burgerbraukeller. Twelve minutes later, the pillar behind the speakers' rostrum exploded, killing seven persons and wounding sixty-three others. The next morning, Hitler's own newspaper, the Volkischer Beobachter announced to the world the story of the attempt on the Fuhrer's life. It blamed the British Secret Service. Hitler's anger fell on Himmler and his organisation. Himmler acted. He telephoned Walter Schellenberg in Dusseldorf ordering him to cross the frontier into Holland and capture the two British Secret agents responsible for the bomb attempt. Schellenberg in turn detailed one of his SS agents Sturmbannfuhrer Alfred Naujocks.

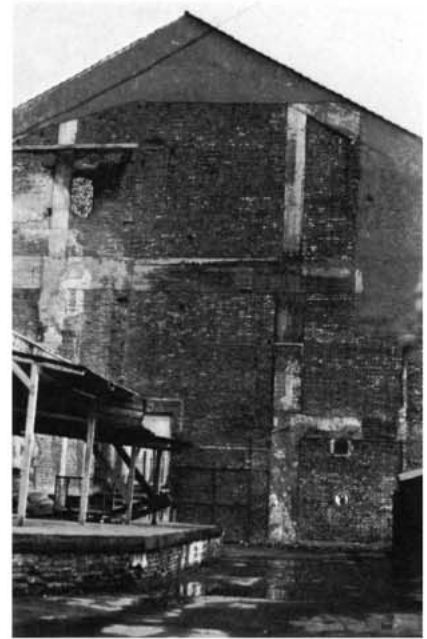
What happened on the afternoon of



Top: Wednesday, November 8, 1939. Even as Adolf Hitler speaks to the 'old guard' in the Burgerbraukeller, the bomb planted in the pillar behind him is ticking away, ready to explode minutes later. Above: The rebuilt 'grosse Halle' today.



Above: The morning after. Two German officials examine the wreckage of the Great Hall (Associated Press). Right: A comparison today is difficult—this is the outer wall showing signs of repair.



Thursday, November 9, 1939 is told in Captain Best's own words (from 'The Venlo Incident').

I got up shortly after five although I felt very tired and much disinclined to do so, but through these daily trips to the frontier I had been forced to neglect all my other work and there were some things which I could put off no longer. As I shaved I could not help wishing that I could somehow or other dodge having to go to that beastly frontier cafe again. There had been something about it the previous evening which had made me feel most uncomfortable; the feeling of being completely cut off from the outside world in that little side room where we had our talks with the Germans, those big glass windows which looked out on to a wall of dense undergrowth.

It was a dull morning and much colder than of late; the sky was overcast and threatened rain. When I got to the office I just had time to glance at the morning paper. It carried a stop-press notice about an attempt on Hitler's life which had been made at Munich the previous day. Hitler himself had escaped as he had already left the place before the explosion, but many others had been killed and injured. Very curious, and I wondered whether this attempt had anything to do with our people and, if not, what effect it would have on their plans.

Then I plunged into my work and it was after ten before I was free to join Stevens at his house, Klop had not yet arrived.

Stevens produced some Browning automatics and we each loaded and pocketed one — just in case. Then Klop came in. He apologized for being late but there was a bit of a scare on and he had been kept at the office. Some news had come in to the effect that the Germans might march into Holland at any moment. The story was unconfirmed and Klop did not believe it himself; nor did it agree with any indications which Stevens and I had. As we were all feeling rather tired I asked my driver, Jan Lemmens, to come with us so that he could bring the car, a Lincoln Zephyr, back in case we wished ourselves to return by train.

We had made such good time that we were able to stop for a quick lunch at a little roadside cafe near s'Hertogenbosch.

Until we stopped for lunch Jan had sat next to me, and Stevens and Klop behind. When we started off again, Stevens came and sat by me and we had a chat about what might happen if the Germans made a sudden attack on Holland and we discussed what measures would be best for the safe evacuation of the legation and other Britishers still in Holland.

I never like to talk when I am driving and always find that it slows up my speed appreciably; in any case, when we reached Venlo it was already four o'clock, the time set for our meeting. Although we stopped so that Klop could call at the police station and arrange about our guard, we could not wait until the men had cycled the five miles to the frontier, but pushed on ahead of them.

All the way down from The Hague we had noticed that military precautions had been intensified and we had been held up at every road block and tank barrier. Even now, between Venlo and our cafe, we were stopped twice. The first time the sentry said something about having orders to allow no cars to pass and although Klop showed him his authority insisted that he must first go to the guard room and speak to the N.C.O. in charge.

The second sentry did not actually stop us, but only made signs that we should drive slowly. He was stationed at a bend in the road just before we entered the straight along which one had a view of the frontier. Somehow or other, it seemed to me that things looked different from what they had on the previous days. Then I noticed that the German barrier

across the road which had always been closed, was now lifted; there seemed to be nothing between us and the enemy. My feeling of impending danger was very strong. Yet the scene was peaceful enough. No one was in sight except a German customs officer in uniform lounging along the road towards us and a little girl who was playing at ball with a big black dog in the middle of the road before the cafe.

I must have rather checked my speed, for Klop called out, 'Go ahead, everything is quite all right.' I felt rather a fool to be so nervous. I let the car drift slowly along to the front of the cafe on my left and then reversed into the car park on the side of the building farthest from the frontier. Schaemmel was standing on the veranda at the corner and made a sign which I took to mean that our bird was inside. I stopped the engine and Stevens got out on the right. My car had left-hand drive. I had just wriggled clear of the wheel and was following him out when there was a sudden noise of shouting and shooting. I looked up, and through the windscreen saw a large open car drive up round the corner till our bumpers were touching. It seemed to be packed to overflowing with rough-looking men. Two were perched on top of the hood and were firing over our heads from sub-

The junction of the main road and the Herongerweg turning to the German frontier, down which Captain Best drove the car on November 9, 1939.





machine guns, others were standing up in the car and on the running boards; all shouting and waving pistols. Four men jumped off almost before their car had stopped and rushed towards us shouting: 'Hands up!'

I don't remember actually getting out of the car, but by the time the men reached us, I was certainly standing next to Stevens, on his left. I heard him say: 'Our number is up, Best.' Then we were seized. Two men pointed their guns at our heads, the other two quickly handcuffed us.

I heard shots behind me on my right. I looked round and saw Klop. He must have crept out behind us under cover of the car door which had been left open. He was running diagonally away from us towards the road; running sideways in big bounds, firing at our captors as he ran. He looked graceful, with both arms outstretched — almost like a ballet dancer. I saw the windscreen of the German car splinter into a star, and then the four men standing in front of us started shooting and after a few more steps Klop just seemed to crumple and collapse into a dark heap of clothes on the grass.

'Now, march!' shouted our captors, and prodding us in the small of our backs with their guns, they hurried us, with cries of 'Hup! Hup! Hup!' along the road towards the frontier. As we passed the front of the cafe I saw my poor driver Jan held by the arms by two men who were frog-marching him along. It seemed to me that his chin was reddened as from a blow. Then we were across the border. The black and white barrier closed behind us. We were in Nazi Germany.

Although a new customs building was opened in July 1971 at the Herongerweg crossing point between Holland and Germany, the original building is still standing beside the Cafe Backus. Further down the road, inside Germany, a bridge has been built to cross a new autobahn, built in 1971. Otherwise the scene is unchanged since 1939.

Early one Sunday in March 1975, we retraced the British Intelligence officers' route from Venlo and turned the bend into the straight piece of road leading to the frontier. As, when they approached it 36 years before, the striped barrier pole was raised. It is only lowered, we were told, if a crime is committed in the neighbourhood.

The Cafe Backus is only five yards inside

When the British officers were taken across the frontier (marked by the sign on the left), they were searched on this raised platform, still in full view of the cafe.

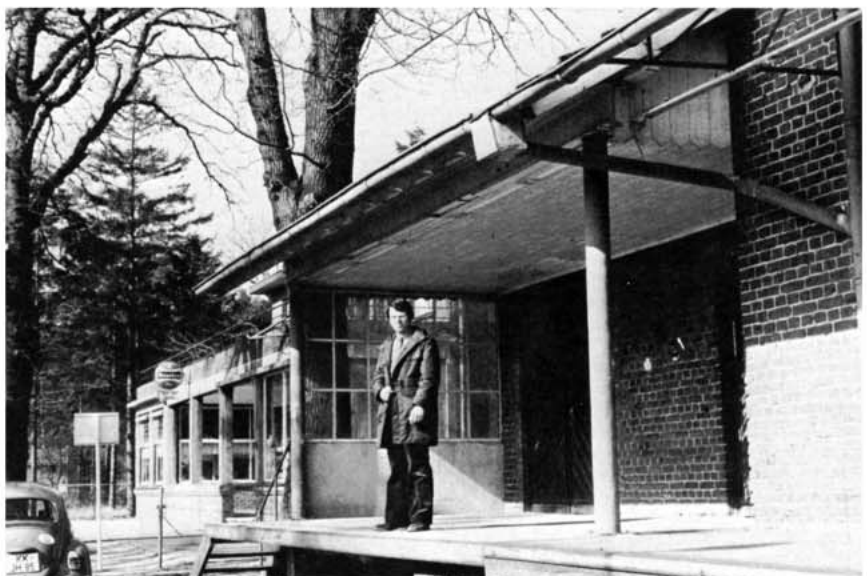
Above: Looking across the border into Germany. Our Land Rover is parked beside the Cafe Backus, exactly where Captain Best parked his car. The actual border runs between the cafe and the large house which was the German customs building in 1939. Below: Mr. Franz Backus and his son standing where Lieutenant Klop fell wounded.



Holland and we backed our Land-Rover, just as Captain Best had done, beside the building. It is still owned, as it was then, by Mr. Franz Backus. He kindly spoke to us and showed us where Lieutenant Klop fell wounded. We then walked across the frontier

to the old German customs post, still with its raised ramp where Stevens and Best stood with upraised arms, facing the wall.

The new customs building, just inside Holland, is now jointly manned by German and Dutch officials, who made us welcome



and shared their morning coffee with us. We learnt that American CBS Television had re-enacted the kidnapping some years ago and at the time both officers returned to the scene.

After the kidnapping Captain Best spent the next five years in Sachsenhausen and other Concentration Camps together with Major Stevens, who ended up in Dachau. They were finally liberated by Company S of the 2nd Battalion of the 339th US Infantry Regiment on May 4, 1945. Major Stevens died in February 1967 and Captain Best in September 1978. Lieutenant Klop died in Dusseldorf the same day that he was wounded.

The Dutch authorities made nine written requests to the Germans for the return of Lieutenant Klop and Jan Lemmens, the driver, and demanded an investigation into the violation of Dutch neutrality. No reply was received until, on the following May 10, Hitler justified his attack on the Netherlands partly on the grounds of the complicity between the Dutch and British Intelligence Services.

On October 19, 1944 the SS Agent responsible for the kidnapping, Alfred Naujocks, deserted to American forces in Belgium. He was held as a potential war criminal but was never brought to trial. In 1946 he made a dramatic escape from the special camp in Germany for war criminals and has never been apprehended.

Heinrich Hoffmann, Hitler's close friend and photographer, had been present in the Burgerbraukeller on November 9, 1939. Sixteen years later, in 1955, he described what happened:

'That Hitler was uneasy about something was obvious. His speech was much shorter than usual, and when he left, he did not shake hands with his old comrades, as had been his invariable wont every year at this reunion. Some feeling of haste and urgency seemed to be impelling him forward, and 'the old guard' watched with disappointment as he turned abruptly and swiftly left the hall. After his departure the hall swiftly emptied, and within a few minutes I myself had packed up my camera and likewise departed. Only a few of the old comrades and the serving staff were left.'

Discussing the incident a day or so later, Hitler gave his own explanation of his sudden departure:

'I had a most extraordinary feeling, and I don't myself know how or why—but I felt compelled to leave the cellar just as quickly as I could.' (Intuition or implication?)

In Munich, repairs began on the Burgerbraukeller, situated on Rosenheimer Strasse with the intention of restoring the building to its original style. However because of the shortage of materials it was never completely finished. During the bombing of Munich, a single bomb hit the large hall at the rear (where the original explosion had taken place), but failed to explode. When American forces entered Munich on April 30, 1945 it was the 'Rainbow' Division, the 42nd Infantry Division, which reached the Burgerbraukeller first. They found the hall filthy, piled with Nazi party records and long unused.

It was opened as a Red Cross Club for American forces who remained there until 1957. In 1958 it was taken over by the Lowenbrau Beer Company which partly rebuilt the premises and it reopened as a bierkeller at Christmas, 1958.

In 1972 the Olympic Games were to be staged in Munich and as part of the planning the city authorities pressed ahead with the construction of an underground railway system. Construction of the escalators emerging on Rosenheimer Strasse, next to the Burgerbraukeller meant the cellar, which had been used for Nazi party meetings, would be affected. It was therefore sealed off and it is now no longer possible to enter it. The large hall at the rear is only opened for large gatherings but permission was kindly given us to photograph the empty room.



Above: Munich has fallen and GIs march past the Burgerbraukeller. Below: In 1976, considerably revamped, it still stood on Rosenheimerstrasse in central Munich.



Above: In the cellar, Lieutenant-General Lucian Truscott speaks on the radio programme which marked its opening as a Red Cross Club for US Forces in 1945.

Who was actually responsible for the Munich bomb plot? The Germans at the time gave the actual perpetrator as Georg Elser and, as such, he was pictured alongside Best and Stevens in the German press. Although Elser admitted planting the bomb, Allied investigators learned after the war that the Gestapo had planned the explosion, hoping that Hitler's 'miraculous escape' would strengthen his following in Germany. They had promised Elser, who was imprisoned in Dachau at the time for being a Communist sympathiser, his freedom.

When Elser later met Captain Best in

Sachsenhausen Concentration camp, he said he had been approached by two strangers who explained the necessity of doing away with some of the Fuhrer's old comrades. The bomb was timed to explode immediately after Hitler had made his speech. The arrest of the two Intelligence officers seems to have been a last minute effort to link the British with the bomb attempt.

The whole truth will probably never be known. On April 16, 1945 the Gestapo announced, after having murdered him, that Elser had been killed in an Allied bombing raid.



The Australian Military



Enthusiasm for restoring military vehicles 'down under' culminated in 1974 with the formation of Australia's first vehicle preservation society by two ardent collectors, Martyn Keen and John Hardy.

Except for a 'Pearl Harbour' type Japanese attack on Darwin on February 19, 1942, which put Australia firmly in the front line, the country never became a battleground as such during the Second World War. Used as a vast staging post by the Allies, one would have expected, therefore, that there would be a surfeit of ex-WWII military vehicles available in Australia. However it seems that many were shipped abroad never to return and those that did remain were put to practical use by farmers and construction companies. Even tracked vehicles such as Bren gun carriers were used on farms as tractors. Those vehicles, therefore, that can be found today have already seen a long working life.

The high level of restoration necessary and replacement of parts has not deterred the enthusiasts. Since last year's beginnings in Western Australia, the growth of other branches in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland led to the formation of the

Australian Military Vehicle Collectors Society on May 7, 1975, with an estimated 240 members scattered throughout Australia. A monthly newsletter is issued — the editor was intrigued by one report of a meeting where several items were 'drunk discussed'. From the following news item, this obviously didn't stop eight members later attending an Army auction of eight Ferret Scout cars!

Geoff Denniss, Secretary of the largest branch of the AMVCS, that in New South Wales, flew to England early in July 1975 to participate in the MVCG Normandy Breakout Tour to France. Fired with enthusiasm, he told us how much his forty-odd members would have enjoyed participating. At the moment his branch own about thirty vehicles including seven Jeeps, three DUKWs, three White Scout cars, eight Bren gun carriers, four Chevrolet Blitzes, one Mack 6x6, three Studebaker 6x6s, a Diamond T wrecker, two Dodge weapons carriers and a Ferret Scout car — quite a formidable beginning. About twenty of the above vehicles are on the road, the others being in various stages of restoration.

There are restrictions in Australia for





Vehicle Collectors Society

running tracked vehicles on the road: these therefore have to be low-loaded to meetings. However one member, it seems, is able to get round these rules because he has kept his vehicle permanently registered since before the new legislation was enacted. Road tax for a Land Rover type vehicle costs about £90 per year although special Historic Commercial Vehicle plates are available for the Scout cars. At the time of writing (November '75), petrol is around 45p per gallon.

Their first rally was held on military land, but Geoff told us that members are not allowed to use Australian Army insignia on their vehicles if the unit is still in being. The New South Wales group are planning to have a permanent rally ground in the Blue Mountains, about sixty miles from their base in Sydney.

President of the NSW branch is Phil Rider, who owns a service station on Rawson Street in Epping, a suburb of Sydney, where he keeps his restored Bren gun carrier, weapons carrier and Jeep. Phil explains that they have to be prepared to travel long distances to look for vehicles — one recent trip on ANZAC Day covered 1200 miles! His 1942 Bren gun carrier

was found in a Sydney junkyard and purchased for A\$1500 (£900). He says it was much the worse for wear as a farmer had been using it as a lawn mower! A tank (he doesn't mind what type) presently heads his wants list.

In Melbourne, Victoria, John Bellfield, a motor engineer, has been collecting vehicles since the early '60s and now has 40 plus vehicles including two Grants in his Historic Military Vehicle Museum. He is currently working on the restoration of a rare Guy Quad artillery tractor. The editor was told that a good restored Jeep sells for A\$2000 (about £1200) in Australia, twice the UK figure.

The Victorian Military Vehicle Corps (did they have vehicles in those days?) has nearly forty members. Different Australian states have varying vehicle laws; one rather awkward one in Victoria is that left-hand drive vehicles are only allowed on the road if they have been continually registered back to 1950. Therefore restored vehicles must be converted to RHD and it seems that even these conversions are frowned upon by the authorities. Perhaps the preservation movement has come too late to save the day in Victoria-land—so enthusiasts everywhere—beware!





AFTER THE BATTLE

WRECK RECOVERY

Two world wars have left the world's sea beds cluttered with thousands of sunken ships. During 1917 alone, the worst year for shipping losses in WWI, 2734 vessels were sunk and of every hundred ships leaving the United Kingdom, a quarter never returned. During the Second World War, over 1050 Axis warships and merchant ships were sunk just as a result of British minefields. In addition, countless Allied merchantmen were torpedoed and bombed by the Axis navies and air forces.

The Ministry of Defence Hydrographic Department, which maintains comprehensive registers of wrecks, estimate there are around 40,000 post-1913 wrecks world-wide. Those in deep water are most probably lost for ever but the estimated 9,000 ships, resting on the shallow continental shelf surrounding the British Isles, have naturally become the focal point for both professional and amateur divers.

During the war the Wreck Disposal Fleet, with individual Salvage Corps for ports and estuaries, was responsible for the removal of wrecks when they became a danger to shipping. If raising a wreck, which was a navigational hazard, proved impossible, because of the large number of wrecks to be tackled, the simple expedient was to blow up the wreckage using depth charges. Sometimes this caused more harm than good — scattering a jagged wreckage over a wide area, ready to rip the nets of fishermen. In the

SHIPWRECKS

Dover Strait, for example, all wrecks were reduced to 45-55ft below sea level.

With the increasing use of large ships and tankers having a deeper draft, Trinity House, the body responsible for keeping the seas around Britain's shores safe, had to conduct a new survey in the English Channel in 1970-71. Its object was to increase the unobstructed water depth to 70ft and as a result three ships had to be cut down to size!

During the war, insurance underwriters' losses on ships lost as a result of war action were refunded by the War Risks Office of the then Board of Trade. As a result, ownership of the vessel automatically changed hands so

that all wartime wrecks are now owned by HM Government.

Occasionally a wartime wreck still hits the headlines as did the German submarine U-48, sunk in 1917 on the Goodwin sands. The sands, which had kept her weed-encrusted hull hidden for 56 years, released her in June, 1973 to reappear in sight of the cliffs of Dover.

The attraction of visiting underwater wrecks by amateur divers can lead to trouble. Recently, an amateur diver swimming around the sea bed, a mile and a half from St. Helier, Jersey, came across the forgotten wreck of a German ship, the *Arnold Maersk*. Investigation of the seaweed-covered wreck



Top: The Richard Montgomery off Sheerness. Above: The U-48 as it appeared in 1973.

exposed a deadly cargo of corroded bombs, most already fused and primed. The Royal Navy sent in a Clearance Diving Team. The divers had to spend a week cutting away the six-foot seaweed before being able to move each bomb separately — floating it to the surface where it could be lifted cautiously aboard a Royal Navy diving tender to be taken out to sea and exploded.

Having spent thirty or more years submerged, wrecks containing corroding explosives are now a very real danger. The most dangerous of all is the American liberty ship, the *Richard Montgomery* which went aground on the Sheerness Middle Sand in a force eight gale on August 6, 1944. She was built in Virginia earlier that year and was carrying a cargo of 8,687 tons of aerial fragmentation bombs and detonators when she broke her back and foundered in 28 feet of water, 3000 yards from Sheerness. As she was an American ship, responsibility for her lay with the US Army and although about half the cargo was salvaged soon after she sank, the rest was soon covered with silt. Not until 1948, was an American salvage company, Philipp's Craft and Fisher Co, given the job of raising her. By then, the British authorities were worried about the danger of digging through the silt and felt the wreck was best left alone. The result was that the owners wrote her off and, as far as the Americans are concerned, the *Richard Montgomery* ceased to exist in April 1948.

However the wreck remained clearly visible at low tide, the masts, derricks, bridge and gun mountings always above water. By 1952 the ship was classified as 'too dangerous to touch' and in 1967, more than fifteen years later, the experts ruled that salvage of the wreck would create a hazard to the surrounding population. The wreck, marked with two buoys warning ships not to approach within 500 feet of the wreck, was placed under constant radar and police surveillance to make sure nobody went near it.

In 1965, the Member of Parliament for south-east Essex, Bernard Braine, concerned at the lack of positive interest by the authorities over a virtual 5000-ton time bomb within a few miles of his constituents, wrote to

the Ministry of Defence. They replied that 'the legal position as to who is responsible for the wreck is complicated although it is clear that the Ministry of Defence legally has no responsibility.'

Three years later with the wreck listed as an 'extreme hazard', the Under Secretary of State for the Navy wrote: 'As I have always tried to make it clear in the House, and in correspondence, the Navy Department carry no responsibility for this wreck... In so far as HM Government is concerned, I am advised that responsibility lies with the Board of Trade.' When contacted, the Board of Trade (now the Department of Trade and Industry), said that they were only responsible for 'handling any correspondence or questions arising from it'. The Home Office, final contender in the battle of words, then said that 'The line of demarcation between departments is difficult to determine in this case particularly since public safety is involved.'

Then in 1969, a northern university planned a bomb hoax on the wreck with the idea of blackmailing the local council into contributing to their rag charity. The joke sadly misfired when the organiser's home was raided by the police with the result that Royal Navy divers were called in to examine the wreck to ensure nothing had been touched.

That year a new survey of the wreck was initiated. One intention was to look into the feasibility of sinking a line of block-ships to the south of the wreck, which is only yards from the main channel to the River Medway and the Isle of Grain oil refinery, increasingly used by super oil tankers.

Major Hartley, who featured in many wartime bomb disposal incidents (see *After the Battle No3*) has said that if the wreck was left 'completely and utterly alone for a thousand years it might be safe.' However, the danger is now that another ship may hit the wreck or some amateur divers may try to explore it. If that happened there could be one of the largest non-nuclear explosions in history; official estimates state that structural damage would occur within a radius of two miles and the pressure wave would cause fractures at the oil refinery, three miles away.

After a report on the wreck by a team of Ministry of Defence divers in 1973, two additional green wreck buoys, together with a series of twelve orange fluorescent buoys, were added around the area. In the Protection of Wrecks Act 1973, designed to protect historic wrecks, the *Richard Montgomery* was uniquely singled out as the only wartime wreck to be declared in a 'protected area'.

The greatest salvage operation of wartime wrecks must be the raising of the scuttled German Fleet at Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands.

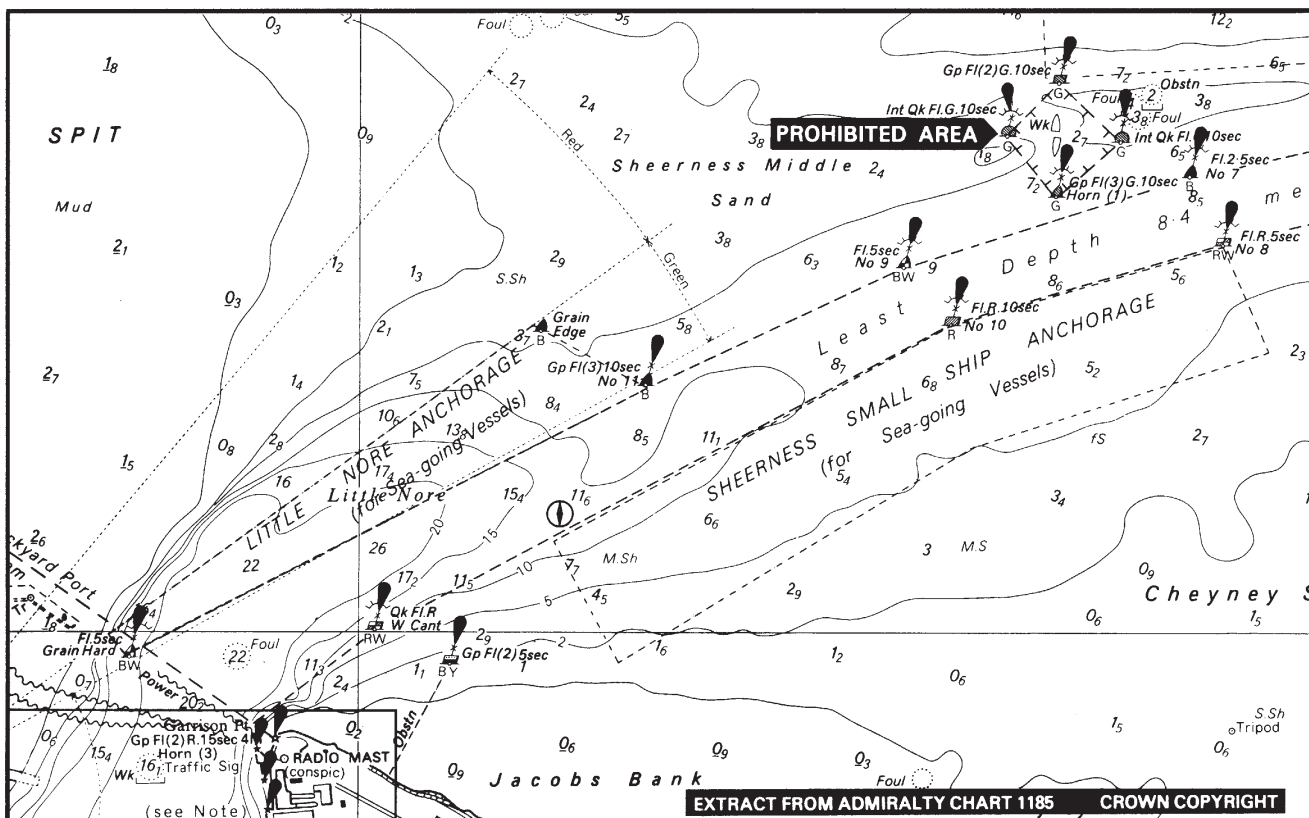
The story of the sinking is too well known to repeat here in detail. On the orders of Admiral von Reuter, the head of the German interned fleet, on June 21, 1919, German Officers successfully sank eleven battleships, five battle-cruisers, eight cruisers and fifty destroyers at their moorings whilst the majority of the British fleet guarding them were on manoeuvres. British boarding parties only managed to rescue the battleship *Baden* and some smaller craft before the ships sank.

Frantic efforts were made to beach the giant *Hindenburg*, a battle-cruiser of 28,000 tons, but these efforts were in vain, and she settled down gradually, only the masts and funnels remaining above the surface.

The *Derfflinger* and *Seidlitz* sank at their moorings with parts of their hulls visible at low tide, while the tops of the masts of numerous destroyers could be seen from the shore.

Nothing was attempted on a large scale to recover the sunken vessels until five years after the scuttling operations, when Messrs. Cox and Danks, a London firm of engineers and ship-breakers undertook the raising of a number of submerged vessels. This firm, which had no previous experience in submarine salvage work, used the latest type of salvaging equipment. A gigantic ex-German floating dock was purchased at a cost of nearly £40,000. Sections of the dock were converted into two huge steel rafts, equipped with powerful winches and electric cranes for hauling the destroyers off the bed of the ocean.

To do this, a raft would be placed in position on either side of the wreck and steel



hawsers passed under the keel of the submerged vessel, which was then lifted by means of the tackle and carried inshore at each successive tide. Then it was patched and refloated.

In some cases all the openings were patched up and the water blown out of the hulls with compressed air, while in others, long sausage-shaped air bags in a deflated condition were attached to their sides. As the balloons were inflated with compressed air, the vessels rose gradually to the surface.

After three years of strenuous and difficult work, twenty-five destroyers had been raised by these methods. The raising of the larger vessels was then taken in hand. These ships presented appalling difficulties, as most of them were bottom up, and submerged in water between 90 and 110 feet deep. Months were spent in the preliminary operations in cutting away deck gear and patching to make the hulls watertight before an attempt could be made to raise them.

In June 1927, the battle-cruiser *Moltke* (23,000 tons), which had sunk in seventy-two feet of water, was lifted and towed upside-down from Scapa to Rosyth, a distance of 200 miles. The towing was safely accomplished, although one of the great hawsers snapped like thread soon after the hulk had passed under the Forth Bridge. The mishap might have been disastrous as the current swept the hull towards the bridge, but skilful manoeuvring saved the situation just in time to prevent a collision with one of the piers.

The next vessel to be raised was the *Seidlitz* (25,000 tons), which was brought to the surface seventeen months after the raising of the *Moltke*. Then followed the *Kaiser* (24,500 tons) in the early spring of 1929. At the end of that year the light cruiser *Bremse* (4,000 tons) was floated.

The *Hindenburg*, 750 feet in length and 96 feet beam, raised in the summer of 1930, proved to be the most difficult vessel to salve. Divers had to fix nearly a thousand patches over apertures in her hull in order to make her water-tight and hold the compressed air which was pumped into her to force the water out at a rate of fifty tons per minute.

Several times during these operations she had to be resunk because there was imminent danger of her turning turtle. Many ingenious methods were tried to overcome the difficulty. To prevent her heeling over, a huge concrete block weighing hundreds of tons was built under her stern, and as this did not prove effective, another block was built on one side to obtain balance. On another occasion the hull of a salvaged destroyer was purposely sunk inshore to act as an anchor for the ends of the hawsers which were attached to the *Hindenburg's* mainmast.

The *Von der Tann* (20,000 tons) was brought to the surface in December 1931, and the *Prinz Regent Luitpold* (25,000 tons) in the following summer. The *Bayern* (28,000 tons), which was 90 feet below the water, was resurrected by Messrs. Metal Industries, Ltd., as were the *König Albert* (25,000 tons) and the *Kaiserin* (25,000 tons).

Several vessels were left to the ravages of the sea, as it was thought at the time that their value as scrap would not cover the cost of salving them. Steel plates made from metal taken from the warships were later incorporated in units of the Royal Navy and the *Queen Mary*.

However, the battle-cruiser *Derfflinger* which had come through the WWI naval actions of the Dogger Bank and Jutland still had not been raised by 1939, when the occupation of Scapa by the Royal Navy put paid to further salvage operations. She lay bottom-up off Hoy throughout the Second World War and was only finally raised and towed away for breaking up in 1946. Today the concession for the remaining wreckage at Scapa Flow is owned by Dougal Campbell, who still brings up worthwhile scrap.



Above: The *Hindenburg* breaks surface at Scapa in August 1930; weeds cover the guns and plating. Below: The *Kaiserin* under tow to Rosyth photographed in August 1936. Bottom: The end of the German fleet—the *Bayern* is broken up for scrap (Fox Photos).



AFTER THE BATTLE

PERSONALITY

Major Clark Gable

Legend has it that Adolf Hitler's favourite American film actor was Clark Gable. If true, the Fuhrer probably found difficulty in sustaining his admiration when he learned that the famous Hollywood star was participating in the US Eighth Air Force daylight raids on the Reich. It is also said that Gable was on a list of notable Allied airmen for whom Goring was offering a substantial cash award, immediate promotion and leave to the Luftwaffe pilots who brought them down dead or alive. There were many on the Allied side who were suspicious that Gable's participation in bomber operations was basically a publicity stunt by Hollywood and the Army Air Forces in collusion. While it is true the industry and air force did capitalise on the fact, Gable's service was a sincere personal wish to fight for his country.

At the start of the Second World War in Europe, Clark Gable was at the height of his career, the undisputed 'King' of Hollywood actors. His leading role opposite Vivien Leigh in *Gone with the Wind* had won him world acclaim in 1939. The climb to the top of his profession had been a hard one and very much a country-boy-makes-good story.

Born on February 1, 1901 in the small country community of Cadiz, Ohio, he was christened William Clark Gable. His parents were both from Pennsylvanian Dutch farming families, although his father had found more profitable



Above: Captain Gable in the right waist gun window of 323rd Bomb Squadron B-17F 'Delta Rebel No. 2' during a press interview, June 1943 (USAF). Below: A pose against the insignia of 'Delta Rebel No. 2'. This B-17 was later lost on the first Schweinfurt mission on August 17, 1943 (USAF).

employment in the oil fields then being developed in the area. The child's mother died a few weeks after his birth; later his father remarried and young Billy was brought up by his stepmother to whom he became very attached.

Leaving home at 16 he worked for the Firestone Company in Akron as a tyre moulder and during this period first became fascinated by the local theatre, eventually working part-time behind the scenes and taking bit parts.





Captain William R. Calhoun and crew pose with Captain Clark Gable after return from the Antwerp mission of May 4, 1943. The B-17F 'Eight Ball Mk II', 41-24635, in which they flew was the 303rd Bomb Group's lead bomber on the mission (USAF).

In 1918 Billy Gable took up more lucrative work in the Oklahoma oil fields but maintained his interest in acting and in 1922 obtained a job with a repertory company in Kansas City. This did not endure for long and when the company folded he took a job in a lumber yard, progressing from this to a better paid and less arduous job with a telephone company. He could then afford acting lessons and attended a drama school, later marrying the principal who then moved her business to Hollywood. His wife was responsible for getting Clark—he had by this time dropped the William—his first walk-on part in movies. This was in 1925 but acknowledgement did not follow and Gable continued to rely on small roles in the theatre. A fortunate break in 1930 took him to New York in a leading part where he received laudatory reviews. At this time the 'talkies' were being introduced and a Hollywood man who saw Gable in the play decided that here was the right combination of voice and looks for a screen hero.

Gable's first film success soon followed and from then on his future as a movie actor seemed assured. Signed by MGM, Clark Gable was to star in many of that company's major productions, becoming the number one heart-throb of cinema-going womanhood during the nineteen-thirties. His romantic image and amenable personality made him particularly attractive to the opposite sex and led him into five marriages. The first ended in divorce in 1931 and the second went the same way eight years later. He then married the ebullient actress Carole Lombard who was killed on January 16, 1942 when the TWA airliner in which she was a passenger crashed into Table Rock Mountain near Las Vegas.

Gable had already considered joining the Army Air Forces and the tragedy of his wife's death, which affected him deeply, appears to have determined him in this move once work on his latest film was completed. A personal approach to General H. H. Arnold, commander of the AAF, had solicited the advice that the best approach was enlistment and application for admission to the Officers

Candidate School if Gable wished to avoid any assertions of an easy commission gained by a famous name. Gable was extremely sensitive that his service in the AAF should be seen to carry no special favours of rank. During this visit to Washington he had a physical at Bolling Field which he passed with ease.

Work on the current film was not completed until the summer of 1942 and on August 12 he finally enlisted at Los Angeles, becoming Private 19125047 in the US Army. On the same day Andrew J. McIntyre, an assistant MGM cameraman also joined the AAF and went with Gable to the OCS at Miami, Florida. The three-month course was purposely tough. One of the first Army instructions for Gable was to shave off his moustache and get a regulation hair cut. Although the majority of candidates were young men in their twenties and Gable was then forty-one, he was quite able to cope with the physical demands, but the written examinations were more taxing. Nevertheless, his actor's memory helped him through and he was commissioned on October 29 as a 2nd Lieutenant. The next move was to the Flexible Gunnery School at Tyndall Field, near Panama City, Florida and at the end of the year to Seven Miles Gunnery School, Fort George Wright at Spokane, Washington. With officer status he could again grow his familiar moustache and indulge in the luxuries of specially tailored uniforms. He even wore his favourite pair of English hand-made shoes.

Gable's wish to make the grade the hard way was good propaganda for the AAF with its 'one of us' appeal to the rank and file. The AAF also intended to make special use of Gable's services to encourage airmen in the none-too-glamorous role of air gunners. With Arnold's approval Gable was briefed to produce a film aimed at gunner training and recruitment. The plan was to assign Gable

and a small supporting party of film technicians to one of the newly raised bombardment groups, sending them overseas to record the fortunes of the organisation with special emphasis on gunners and gunnery. Andy McIntyre, who had enlisted with Gable, was assigned as chief cameraman. Both men were sent to the 34th Bomb Group at Geiger Field, Washington in January 1943, an organisation committed to raising new units. On January 28, they were assigned to such a unit, the 508th Bomb Squadron of the 351st Bomb Group which had moved from Geiger to Biggs Field, Texas to begin training. In a few weeks Gable's team, known as the 'Little Hollywood Group' was complete having secured the services of Lieutenant John Lee Mahin, a former MGM screen writer to work on the script of the proposed film, Lieutenant Howard Voss, a former sound recordist, and Sergeants Mario Toti and Robert Boles to assist with camera work.

Gable's presence in the Group was met with mixed feelings; those individuals eager to embrace the celebrity's company at every opportunity were matched at the other extreme by those who felt that Gable was an unnecessary frivolity foisted upon them when their task required serious dedication. Attitudes would change although there were some members of the Group who felt that Colonel Hatcher, the CO, accorded Gable too much attention. The fact was that Gable, his fame apart, was extremely genial company and a likeable person. Although only a 1st Lieutenant, his seniority did place him more with officers at Group Headquarters than with the young men in his squadron.

After a move to Pueblo in Colorado, the 351st received overseas orders and on April 16 Gable flew in a B-17F Fortress on the trans-Atlantic trip non-stop from Gander to Prestwick, Scotland. The Group's war base was at Polebrook in Northamptonshire where the

351st's entire complement of forty B-17s were on hand by early May. It is said that 'Lord Haw Haw' in his English language propaganda broadcasts welcomed the Group and Gable to England. Even though unsubstantiated, the Germans undoubtedly knew of the move through their excellent intelligence services in North America.

General Eaker, commanding the 8th Air Force, was aware of Gable's mission and offered assistance. As the 351st had to undergo further training before being committed to operations, Gable felt it advisable to get some idea of combat conditions in preparation for flights when cameras would be used. He visited bases of nearby groups and on May 4 made his first combat mission as an observer flying from Molesworth, Huntingdonshire with the 303rd Bomb Group during an attack on Antwerp. He flew with an experienced crew in B-17F 'Eight Ball Mk II' of the 359th Bomb Squadron. The formation was attacked by enemy aircraft and for a while Gable manned the radio-room gun. Although the bomber was hit by a 20 mm cannon shell, no one on board was injured.

A month was to pass before a public announcement was made that the Hollywood idol was serving with the 8th Air Force in England. In the meantime Gable had been promoted to Captain. Gable was reluctantly persuaded to meet the press in the cause of AAF prestige. With the object of confusing enemy intelligence the B-17F used in the presentation was an aircraft of the veteran 91st Bomb Group from another station.

Most of the air-to-air camera work on the film was carried out by Gable and McIntyre. The team was on hand at Polebrook a few days before the 351st became operational to record a grisly sequel to a collision between two Fortresses in which both crews were killed in the flaming wrecks which fell on the airfield boundary. The pilot of one was a squadron commander. Another squadron commander was the Group's first loss on its inaugural mission of May 14 and in the weeks that followed losses incurred quickly depleted the original complement of the Group. Gable was noticeably moved by the loss of so many young men, some that he had come to know quite well. Being literally double the age of most, he had become known behind his back as 'Pappy', but there was no disrespect in this.

The missions on which the camera team flew were certainly not 'milk runs', indeed, on every one of Gable's five missions his bomber was hit by enemy fire. At Villacoublay on July 10, the 351st came under heavy attack. On August 12, Gable flew in the Group lead aircraft with Major Theodore Milton on a mission to Gelsenkirchen, standing during the entire six-hour flight. Weather caused the Group to seek a last resort target. There was also little bombing success during a mission over the Ruhr when Gable and McIntyre flew in a B-17F named 'Ain't I Gruesome?' Under heavy attack, the aircraft was hit fifteen times. Gable was standing on the flight deck when shrapnel passed within two feet of his head and struck the upper turret. His last combat flight was on September 23 to Nantes, France, in a B-17F nicknamed 'The Duchess'. On this occasion Gable took film from the waist-gun positions and fired at an attacking fighter at one point, afterwards declaring that he had missed widely.

By October 1943 the 'Little Hollywood Group' had accumulated some 50,000 feet of 16mm film, more than sufficient for their purposes. Ordered to return to the States, Gable flew the Atlantic and then direct to Washington for an audience with Arnold. He had been awarded an Air Medal for his operational services and his homecoming drew a considerable amount of publicity. His experiences with the 8th Air Force had left him full of admiration for the men who flew the bombers and he was constantly telling interviewers that they should talk to some of



these young veterans if they wanted a story. In later years Gable recalled his war service as something of a nightmare, his worst fear being that he might bail out and be captured. He was convinced that Hitler would exhibit him like a prize animal in a cage.

There now followed the task of assembling the film he had been briefed to make. It took nearly a year and in the end there was sufficient footage to produce five training films. In May 1944 Gable was promoted Major but by this time it was thought he would better serve the nation's war effort in feature films and in the following month he was given an honourable discharge from the AAF. Work on editing the training films continued and by October 1944 the major item, a flag-waving recruitment film for gunners, 'Combat America', was ready. It was well-produced and contained much excellent photography but was somewhat overshadowed by William Wyler's highly successful and more dramatic 'Memphis Belle' which was also filmed at a Fortress base in England.

Gable's experiences with the 8th Air Force left an impression which did not diminish with the years. In 1949 he starred in a film entitled 'Command Decision' which had an 8th Air

Force story and also featured John Hodiak, Van Johnson and Walter Pidgeon in the cast. Here again the film, which seemed to lack dramatic impact, was overshadowed by 'Twelve O'Clock High' with Gregory Peck which was premiered the following year. 'Twelve O'Clock High', scripted by former 8th AF veterans, dealt with a different aspect of the same subject and is acknowledged one of the best war films ever made.

During his post-war film career Gable returned to Europe and on occasions visited his wartime haunts. He was reportedly last at Polebrook in 1959 while on a brief visit to Britain with his fifth wife, telling reporters that the place had both good and sad memories for him. At home late the following year he suffered a heart attack and died on November 16, aged 59. Four months after his death his wife gave birth to a son.

ROGER A. FREEMAN

Above: Captain Gable chats to a fellow Captain of the 94th Bomb Group at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, on September 3, 1943 (USAF). Below: With gunner Sergeant Phil Hulse beside the tail gun position of a 91st Bomb Group B-17F.





VERA

The beautiful spy

AFTER THE BATTLE

WAR FILMS

When we visited Scotland in August 1975 researching the landing of the three agents Robert Petter, Carl Drucke and Vera Erikson, it was soon evident that we had the makings of a fascinating story. All the locations remained unchanged after thirty-five years and the arresting police officers were all still alive. At this stage the editor got a bee in his bonnet about making this part of our German spy story into a TV documentary.

Having no experience whatsoever with this medium, we contacted David Rea, top freelance director, with whom we had already compared notes for a Mussolini programme he was making for ATV. He advised there were two ways of tackling the project. Firstly, one could try to interest a television company in the story and get them to finance and make the film. In this case, they would retain editorial control. The better way, from our point of view to enable us to present the true story as we wanted would be to make it ourselves and then try to sell the programme to a TV company.

We chose the latter course. A script, suitable for a television programme, was prepared over a period of three weeks with director Rea. A TV script has to differ considerably from a written story in order to give maximum impact and keep viewers interested. After several sessions a script, which we were satisfied with as far as accuracy was concerned and David Rea found acceptable on the visual side, was agreed. However, a little poetic licence was still necessary and readers will spot slight differences between the story in this issue (which tells the basic facts) and the programme.

The big 'if' was whether the editor could 'perform' as interviewer. An embarrassing screen test was carried out, after which David Rea pronounced his judgement (unprintable!). Then a film crew were assembled, all top freelance men in their field.

Our budget allowed for a film ratio of 5:1 i.e. two and a half hours film would be exposed for the half-hour programme. We found out afterwards that some TV programmes run up to 8 and 10:1; David Rea admitted when shooting had finished that he now knew how to stop narrators wasting film with endless retakes (a recent experience was 28 times)—make them pay for it themselves!

The three police officers involved in the capture of the spies had kindly agreed to participate and, in keeping with *After the*

Battle, the props to be used—radios, knives, pistols, briefcases—were the actual ones carried by the three spies in 1940.

It had been the original intention of the editor (now promoted to Producer), to make this film on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the landing — September 30, 1975. But as it would be impossible to make the whole film in one day (ten days were allocated for actual shooting), this idea had to be abandoned.

David Rea first shouted 'action' at 9.30 a.m. on Monday, October 13, 1975 on a precarious ledge on the top floor of the Royal Bank of Scotland building on The Mount, Edinburgh, for a ten-second shot of a train entering Waverley Station.

The second location meant the debut of the editor who, wired for sound with a radio



Our film begins on the exact spot where the three agents landed; the farmhouse is in the background. Sound, Wally Plummer; camera, Tony Mander; assistant, Mike Matthews; and facing them all, director David Rea.

microphone, had to interview ex-Chief Constable Merrilees, similarly bugged, outside his old Police Headquarters. The radio m/cs have a range of 300 yards; one soon learnt to be careful what was said whilst not filming as Wally Plummer could hear every word! After a rehearsal this scene was filmed twice and then close-up shots were taken of the editor 'nodding' which would be edited later into the interview.

On schedule, we moved to Waverley Station — where the spy Walti had been arrested by Willie Merrilees. The director had voiced serious doubts, after his reconnaissance, as to the suitability of the location — it was really too dark for the Eastmancolor film being used and too noisy. Diesel trains were continually entering and leaving the station in addition to all the usual sounds of a main line station — doors banging, trolleys, tannoys, etc. It may be necessary, he had said, to film the interview somewhere quieter. To the editor this was sacrilege . . . not to be on the actual spot . . . the mere hint of a subterfuge was preposterous . . . absolutely unacceptable. Luckily that morning our prayers for sunshine were answered; there was just enough light for the wide-angle lens, opened right up.

The two performers stumbled through several takes, filmed from all angles, 'Wee Willie' enjoyed twisting the editor's arm as he demonstrated how he disarmed Walti. At one time, the tannoy system became so annoying, as the announcements broke in whilst the camera was rolling, that the ex-Chief Constable shouted to a nearby policeman to 'go and not just cut the woman off but cut her throat!'

Because the old left-luggage office has now been bricked up, it was necessary to use the Talisman Bar instead, a few yards away. We were kindly given permission to use it, when closed in the afternoon, to double as the original luggage office. Willie Merrilees is so well known in Edinburgh that he was continually returning the greetings of station staff and passers by. Late in the afternoon, as we filmed the scene where he frog-marches the editor (Walti) into the bar, one porter who repressed us several times cried, 'Haven't you caught him yet Willie'.

Filming in Edinburgh was completed by 5.00 p.m. when the 'unit' moved north.

The first location on our second day was the road outside the old Buckpool station. The station itself has been pulled down but luckily, as Walti only stopped here for a moment before being told to go to the next station down the line at Buckie, it didn't matter much. In Walti's statement to M15, he claimed that he caught the bus to Buckie, and that the conductress let him travel free as she



William Merrilees relives the part he played thirty-five years previously and enjoys demonstrating how he disarmed Werner Walti. In his hand the actual pistol Walti was carrying.

couldn't change the ten shilling note he offered her for the twopenny fare. This gave us the opportunity to take several sequence shots of the 'Battlewagon' en-route for Buckie station.

We had our first experience in Buckie town itself of how awkward bystanders can be when filming, when some local boys refused to move out of view, and said they would only do so for 'a quid'. As the camera turned they all ran across the road shouting, spoiling the shot.

The entrance to the Buckie station, down which Walti would have walked from the High Street is now blocked off, so this meant we had to take the Land-Rover through the lower entrance; up and along the platform; across the non-existent track and then reverse it up the entrance road. When the editor then drove forwards, David Rea wanted the vehicle to stop as near to the platform edge as possible. As the bonnet hid this from view, it was more by luck than judgement that a spectacular four-foot leap to the track was avoided.

After Buckie, we moved to Portgordon. This station had suffered from vandals, even

since our first visit two months previously, and its condition was not improved when the crew set about providing more light inside — with an axe! This must be one of the best scenes — true to the spirit of *After the Battle* — filmed exactly where the two spies Karl Drucke and Vera Erikson had stood, thirty-five years previously.

The call for the third day's shooting was 9.00 a.m. at Portgordon station, where ex-Constable Robert Grieve was meeting us, having motored up from Aberdeen. Ex-Inspector John Simpson, his superior officer, also arrived at the location. After a short session at the station, we moved to Mr. Grieve's old office only a couple of hundred yards away, to which he had walked Vera and Drucke. As the old front door has since been bricked up and, as the editor had not practised walking through brick walls, our entry to the scene was made from the cells—impossible at the time but more visually acceptable for TV. Likewise, the director wanted a different background for the second part of the interview with Mr. Simpson and he

Walti catches a bus from Buckpool to Buckie. We film the route he travelled.



Director Rea at Portgordon station in one of his better moods!





Above: Walti caught his train to Edinburgh from this derelict station at Buckie. Below: A mile or so further west, Vera and Drugge, at Portgordon station, failed to make their connection.

therefore chose the interior of one of the cells (now a garage), although strictly speaking this conversation took place in the front office as well.

After lunch the unit moved to old Buckie police station to which the two agents had been transferred. Here, permission had been given by the occupier to film in his storeroom. The spies had been kept separated ever since they reached Mr. Grieve's house and Mr. Simpson pointed out that in actual fact, Vera had been taken into the sergeant's house next door through an adjoining doorway, now bricked up.

The interviews had not lasted as long as the director had hoped and, at this stage, the programme was running ten minutes shorter than anticipated. Back at the hotel discussion followed between David Rea and the editor as to how certain sections still to be filmed on the beach could be expanded and additional 'voice over' material incorporated. 'Voice over' is when the editor is heard speaking over a scene but he himself is not visible. To retain the right atmosphere and to avoid the falseness associated with much 'voice over' on TV today (where this is often added in a studio afterwards). David Rea, a perfectionist, had insisted that all these pieces were to be spoken on the actual location being seen on the screen. This meant agreeing the text whilst we were still in Scotland. It may be hard to believe but every word, every single word in the programme, had to be argued over, added, cast away or improved until the director was absolutely satisfied that the effect he wished to portray had been created. In this way, four paragraphs took three hours to compose!

Remarkable for the time of year, the weather was remaining fine and clear although chilly and, by the fourth day, we were ahead of schedule. This was the day the editor was dreading — where several pieces had to be spoken 'to camera' on the beach. When one sees a slick television programme it seems so easy; little does one know the effort and planning which goes into each shot. First each piece is timed on a stopwatch, angles worked out, unobtrusive marks made on the ground where to start talking, where to stop, etc. After perhaps several rehearsals, in which the director explains fully what he wants you to do, he decides to shoot it. Usually the person in front of the camera then immediately does the opposite — at least the editor did. However, the piece has to be done and redone until absolutely perfect. All words said 'to camera' have to be learnt by heart beforehand but even so, when the camera rolls, the mind can easily go blank.

The language of the crew is fascinating!



Below: The interview with ex-Constable Robert Grieve, who returned to Portgordon from Aberdeen especially for our film. In the background, the old railway station. The railway line was closed in May 1968.



When the director calls 'OK everybody . . . Row-ul', the sound man replies, 'Sound running'. Cameraman shouts, 'Mark it' and the assistant calls the take and claps the clapper, 'Vera, No 16, Take 3'. A few seconds wait for the motors to stabilize and the director motions the action to begin. If he is not satisfied during a take he will immediately shout, 'Cut' . . . do it again'. Perhaps this is because the sound man can hear a car passing on a nearby road or an aeroplane chooses that moment to appear. Perhaps a dog starts barking and so the take has to begin again. Facing the camera, one longs for the director to let the piece run to conclusion and, usually looking at the ground to shout, 'Cut'. He seems to perform a little jump at this stage and utters the blessed words, 'Print it'.

At the end of the day, advantage was taken of a beautiful sunset to film the deflated dinghy, floating offshore, as it was found by the coastguard.

That evening the weather turned, and fog came in from the sea dampening our spirits for the following day. Then there was a last minute panic from 'our Walti' who phoned to say he might not be able to make it the next day. Therefore, this eventually had to be planned for and Mike Matthews was kitted out in Walti's clothes. He was growing a beard at the time which would have been in keeping with the part and the editor became excited at the prospect of getting his hands on the clapper board. However our hopes were dashed, or rather restored, when we learnt that our RAF pilot extra was coming after all.

The fifth day dawned misty and cloudy. The forecast was continuing fog. One can imagine therefore our relief when, at about 10.30 a.m., the clouds pulled back and the sun shone from a clear blue sky. Sun was an essential for the days filming as this was to be shot 'day for night' — a blue filter is placed over the lens so that the film looks as if it could be at night. In the editor's opinion, shared by the director and crew, it always looks false, but as colour film just cannot be exposed during actual dark conditions, it is the only alternative.

For the dinghy scene, we wanted the extras to physically resemble the real spies as near as possible. In the absence of registered actors in the area, we had been given permission from the all-powerful Equity union to select any local people to play the parts providing they



The editor shows ex-Inspector John Simpson the actual knife and radio set he took from Drugge in 1940 in his old office at Buckie police station. Vera was taken through the bricked-up doorway in the background to the sergeant's house next door.

didn't say anything. This suited us fine. During David Rea's reconnaissance of the locations the week before shooting began, three people were picked straight off the streets and asked if they would like to be German spies. Attractive Liz Costalas, the director's assistant, got into several compromising situations when she approached likely men! When the editor saw the three, he was greatly impressed — they had been chosen well.

Wendy Street, who was to play Vera, complete with 1940s hairstyle and the essential seamed stockings, is a housewife with two children whose husband is a Chief Petty Officer on the *Ark Royal*. It had been

David Rea's job to approach her in an Elgin street using the corny line he thought he would never use, 'Would you like to be on television?' She dyed her red hair dark especially for the film — no doubt her husband got a surprise when he returned home! Inspector Simpson, who came to watch the filming on the beach, said that Vera was a close match to the real Vera, as was our real German, Peter Seiche, who played Drucke.

Peter is the export manager of Baxters Soups — his claim to fame is that he has actually succeeded in selling tinned British-made minestrone soup to the Italians!

Chris Wood, portrays Werner Walti. He had been the most difficult of all to cast.

Our three spies, L-R Chris Wood (Werner Walti), Wendy Street (Vera Erikson) and Peter Seiche (Karl Drugge) at Gollachy Burn, thirty-five years after the original agents landed on the same beach.





Chris Wood leaves the entrance to Buckpool station, which has now been completely demolished, to catch a bus to Buckie, a mile or so down the coast.



Above: William Merrilees with the BBC's 'Brylcreem boy' Walti, photographed at Waverley Station in September 1960 during the filming of the Pinto Spycatcher TV series. Below: The real Walti—a police photo. Bottom: Compare with Chris Wood, playing our version of Walti.

Readers can judge for themselves, with the photograph of the real Walti and the 1962 BBC version, how successful our director was in finding him. David Rea had spotted him washing his car, rather appropriate as Walti was a Swiss and a chauffeur. 'You look just like a German spy', said David Rea. Chris's face stayed, as always, solemn and calm. 'Don't tell my CO that', he said and then went on to say that he was flying jets in the RAF. Fortunately, however, when his CO heard of our request, he was kind enough to give permission for Chris to appear. Apparently on the day we required Chris for filming he would have been doing dinghy drill — the very thing we wanted him to do!

On this day, the editor had no part to play, except provide the authentic props, so the opportunity was taken to enjoy the show and take still photographs. Bearing in mind our three spies were ordinary people, they played their parts faultlessly. Although they realised they would have to get wet in the dinghy, they were excited at being film stars. Shooting went so well that David Rea nearly had a breakdown — he couldn't understand it!

As the morning progressed the sun rose higher and caused Tony Mander problems, so the director called for our Land-Rover to be used as a camera platform on the beach. This, on the stony, rocky beach, was much easier said than done. The vehicle very nearly tipped over descending the high water mark and took at least half an hour to get off again. The editor's kittens were duly presented to the director! By 4 p.m. shooting was successfully completed and we packed up and headed south.

For the two days filming that were left, it was planned to spend one day in London and one in the Isle of Wight. First we filmed the opening title sequence which is to be used at the beginning of any other After the Battle films we may make. We also recorded various sound effects and then moved to the old M15 headquarters in St. James's Street where permission had been obtained to film inside. The following day, we travelled to the Isle of Wight to film the closing sequences of the programme.

It is hoped that the programme will be accepted by the TV companies for showing in Britain early in 1976 and in other countries later in the year. Plans have already started on our follow up . . . but that's another story.





Final scenes. Above in Cowes on the Isle of Wight 'looking for Vera' and, below, on the fifth floor of No. 58 St. James's Street, the old London headquarters of MI5. Bottom: The end.



THE AFTER THE BATTLE THEME

The title sequence for the film is cut to music — the *After the Battle* theme. This, largely unknown, piece of music was chosen by the editor from the works of that stirring British composer, Sir Edward Elgar.

The complete piece 'Carillon, Op 75' was composed in November 1914 after Sir Edward had read a poem by the Belgian poet Emile Cammaerts. The poem describes the plight of Belgium, recently overrun by the German armies, and Sir Edward composed the music to transform the poem into a dramatic recitation with orchestral prelude and finale. The music only accompanies the words at two points, but the piece so suited the public's feelings at the time that it caused a sensation when it was first performed at Queens Hall on December 7, 1914.

The following month the complete piece was recorded at The Gramophone Company's studio at Hayes, on January 29, 1915, but, as it was purely a period piece, associated with the mood of the time, it lost its popularity and was later forgotten. Naturally the quality and style of the original recording would not be acceptable today.

Only one other recording has been made by Sir Adrian Boult, who included just the orchestral part in a recording of Elgar's *Orchestral Music*. The finale of the piece — the triumphal entry into Berlin — seemed to typify the theme of *After the Battle*. However the arrangement of both recordings did not really bring out the vibrant theme.

The editor then discovered a perfect, powerful recording, just of the finale, arranged by Fletcher and recorded by the Band of the Royal Marines in 1969. This twenty-five second piece has been adopted as our *After the Battle* theme — we hope our readers like it.



